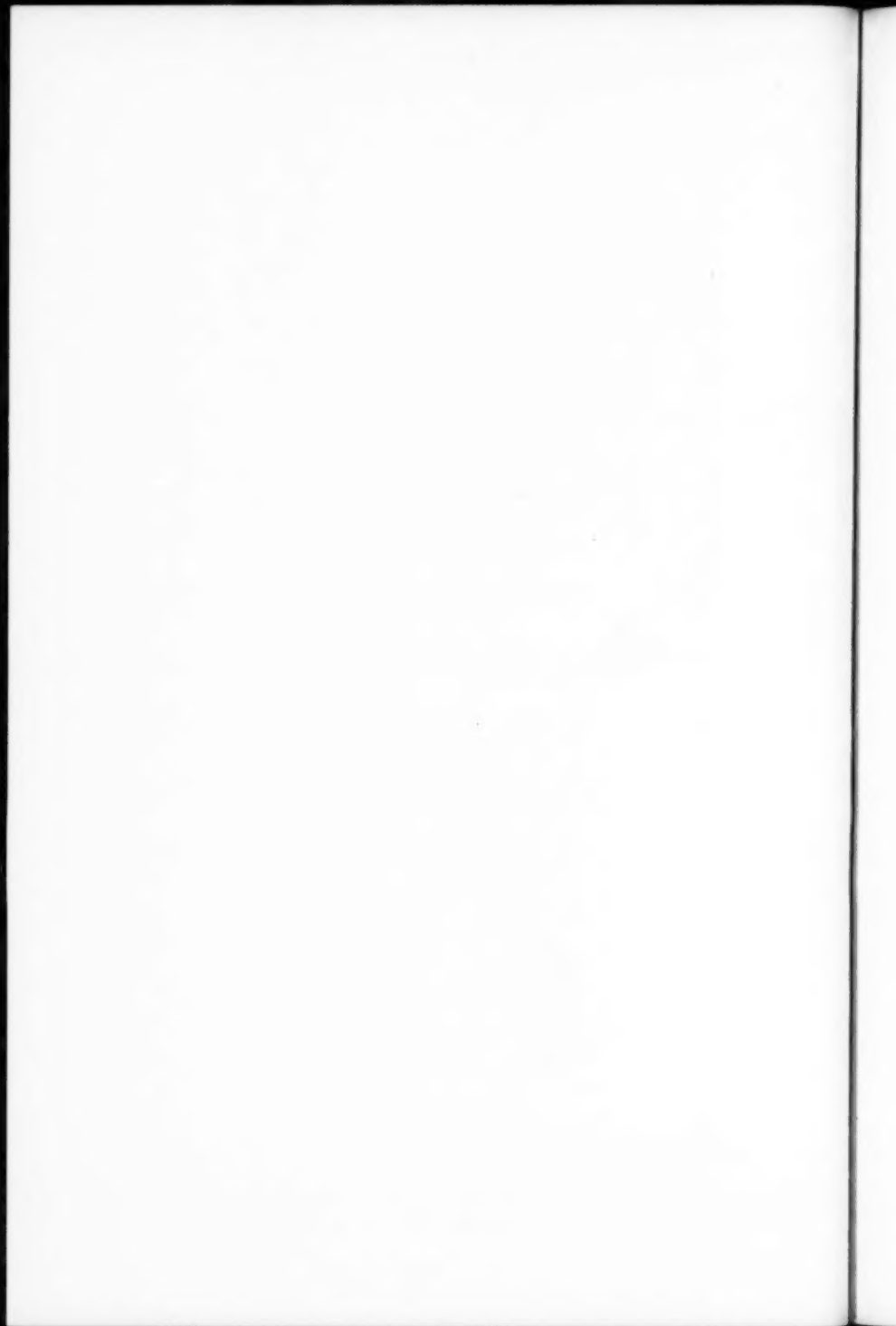


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MONTE CASSINO, METTEN, AND MINNESOTA¹

In following the development of civilization through early European history it is necessary to dwell at some length upon the Rule of St. Benedict. This rule, better described as a constitution for the government of men living under certain conditions, is known as one of the great governmental documents of history. It came into being during the critical years when the old Roman Empire of the West was breaking down and western Europe was coming under the rule of those vigorous but untaught tribesmen from the North known as the Teutons. Among the Romans at that time there was an intense interest in the Christian religion. For some time hundreds, and even thousands, of people, persons of wealth, of prominence, and of social position, as well as persons of the humbler walks of life, had renounced the affairs of the world and had turned their thoughts exclusively to the attainment of eternal salvation, which they hoped more certainly to deserve through a life of self-denial.

This spirit of self-denial is one which all ages have lauded. Asceticism had begun in the East and was already a century old when the West took it up. Even in the East the thought had arisen that this practice required some organization and should be made of some service to society. It remained, however, for the West to realize this thought in its fullest form. This was the work of Benedict of Nursia, a Roman, to whom succeeding centuries have reverently paid their respect under the title of St. Benedict. Benedict was of that race of Romans which had conquered and ruled nearly all the civilized world for upwards of five hundred years. Something of the genius of his race was apparently preserved in him. The problem

¹ Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Cloud on June 16, 1927. *Ed.*

of ruling others was not of his seeking. It was thrust upon him by the many persons who crowded around him to learn to live as he lived — a life of perfect self-denial. After several unhappy experiences with such groups, one of which nearly cost him his life, he finally devised a form of government which, while it satisfied the spirit of self-denial in quest of individual salvation, also struck most clearly the less selfish note of service to humanity.

According to tradition, this form of government, known as the Rule of St. Benedict, was finally formulated at Monte Cassino in the year 529. In Benedict's community, among the mountainous hills to the south of Rome, with the blue waters of the Mediterranean off in the distance, this rule proved its excellence during the remaining years of his life. For the benefit of his sister, Scholastica, Benedict made some slight modifications in his rule to suit the needs of women following a religious life. Thus were founded the first two Benedictine communities for men and women. The Rule of St. Benedict is a masterpiece in the art of government. Others have drawn up on paper regulations which, if followed, would constitute a counsel of perfection. The world has seen many such — Benedict's rule was not that. It was, instead, a form of government under which men of religious zeal could live and work harmoniously together day in, day out, through the changing seasons of the year and the changing outlook of passing years without losing their zest either for religious salvation or for service to humanity. In its provision for work as well as prayer, in its recognition of the varying needs of illness and of health, in its adjustment to the changing seasons, and in its appreciation of human nature, the rule laid down a form of government which men could follow, whether among the heaping snows of the arctic circle or under the glaring sun of the equatorial zone, whether in southern Italy in 529 or in central Minnesota in 1927. And under all these conditions the ideals remained the same, personal salvation and humanitarian service.

Monte Cassino, however, is as far away as southern Italy and as long ago as fourteen hundred years. It was a religious community in which Romans were striving for salvation and incidentally helping people within a radius of not more than eighty miles and usually not more than ten. Perhaps another chapter of history may help to make clear what connection that community has with Minnesota.

Everybody knows of Gregory the Great. He too was a Roman. Three-quarters of a century had elapsed since the Rule of St. Benedict was formulated, and the times, in Italy at least, were even more out of joint than they had been in Benedict's day. Nevertheless the community at Monte Cassino still continued, though Benedict had been dead nearly half a century. Other communities had been formed under the government of this rule. Gregory himself had chosen early to follow a religious life. He used the vast estates to which he had fallen heir for the purpose of founding monasteries, and in all of them the Benedictine rule was observed. When Gregory became pope he decided to extend the sphere of usefulness for which Benedict had provided. He sent Benedictine monks as missionaries to regions not yet Christian. The St. Augustine and forty companions whose memory is so dear to English Christians in all lands today were Benedictine monks, and the community they founded at Canterbury was such a community. In fact the missionary movement that converted the Anglo-Saxons was a Benedictine service. From the monasteries that grew up in England other monks went out to carry on the work among their kinsmen on the continent. It was a Benedictine monk from England who succeeded in carrying Christianity to the heathen folk of Germany, and German Christians today are as grateful to the Anglo-Saxon Boniface as the English are to Augustine. The textbooks for the training and guidance of converts which Boniface carried with him to Germany were written by the Venerable Bede. The work which Boniface began so successfully was continued after his time, and for the next four centuries the advance of Christian-

ity northward and eastward on the continent was marked by Benedictine monasteries.

In their work in England and even more in Germany the Benedictine monasteries realized the ideals of service which their founder had set before them. The people among whom they worked were not yet civilized and the life they led was still a semi-rough one. The Benedictine monks had to teach these people not only the fundamentals of the Christian religion, but also the fundamentals of civilized life. The monastic clusters of buildings which the monks themselves literally built gradually became the nuclei of permanent villages and towns. In fact some of the cities of Germany today owe their origin to these early monasteries. From the monastic center the Benedictine monks went out to convert the heathen and to minister to those already converted. At the monastic center the monks taught the growing youth letters, and taught both them and adults agriculture, industry, and, in general, the arts of civilization. The importance of their work early won the recognition and support of the great Carolingian kings. Charlemagne's father and Charlemagne were especially interested in them. The coöperation of these two rulers with the Benedictine monks is best illustrated in the case of the Saxons and Bavarians, the most vigorous and turbulent of the German people. The taming of the Saxons, so far as they were tamed, was accomplished more by the planting of Benedictine monasteries than by the crashing of Charlemagne's sword.

One trait of the Benedictine rule for which Benedict himself had provided is fully revealed by the spread of Benedictine monasteries through the north of Europe. Though the monasteries sent out missionaries, and these founded new communities, the latter were cut off from organic connection with the parent community almost as soon as they were self-sustaining. Sentiment and tradition often preserved the memory of the earlier connection more or less fondly, but there remained no

authoritative bond. This has sometimes been spoken of as a defect of the Benedictine rule, and later new orders arose in which an organic connection was maintained between scattered communities. Whether a defect or not, the fact remains that each Benedictine community became essentially a part of the region in which it was located. There were undoubtedly many advantages in this fact. The people of the region would not continue to look upon the Benedictine community as foreign. The original monks would quickly be replaced by others who had been born and reared in the region, and thus the feeling of community between the people and the monks would facilitate both the work of conversion and more material education. Whether for good or ill, this Benedictine characteristic of the separate entity of each monastery is an important fact in the history of the order.

One of the monasteries established during this great missionary period was the Monastery of Metten. This was built on the northern side of the Danube Valley some miles east of Ratisbon in the year 801. Charlemagne then ruled that territory, and the monastery was in a sense built under his auspices. The people among whom it was built were Bavarians, already Christian, but on the border of Bohemia and the land of the Avars. The work it did in the early years was exactly the kind of work that the greater monasteries established by St. Boniface were doing. It trained missionary priests, taught the arts of peace, and, in general, served as a force for improvement in the region round about. About a hundred years after its founding its buildings were destroyed by the great invasion of the Hungarians, then a wild people recently come from Asia. It was rebuilt, and, when Otto the Great finally defeated the Hungarians and established the Ostmark as a protection against them, Metten embarked upon a more peaceful career. Presumably, some of the monk-priests it trained took part in the missionary work among the Hungarians and Slavs, but that work was soon accomplished. Sec-

ular hierarchies were established there and the missionary duties of Metten came to an end.

Metten was never one of the largest, nor was it the most important of the Benedictine monasteries. From the tenth century on it was a Bavarian institution essentially, contributing its services to the locality about it. The centuries came and went and Metten continued to render its services. Its fortunes fluctuated with those of the region in which it stood. There were times when its abbots were unusually able, when its community was unusually large, and its influence radiated out over all Bavaria. There were other times when its community was small and its abbots neither distinguished nor important. There were times when the chief interests of the monks were apparently concerned with the administration of their properties, which had grown considerably, and other times when Metten was a leader in learning and art and zeal.

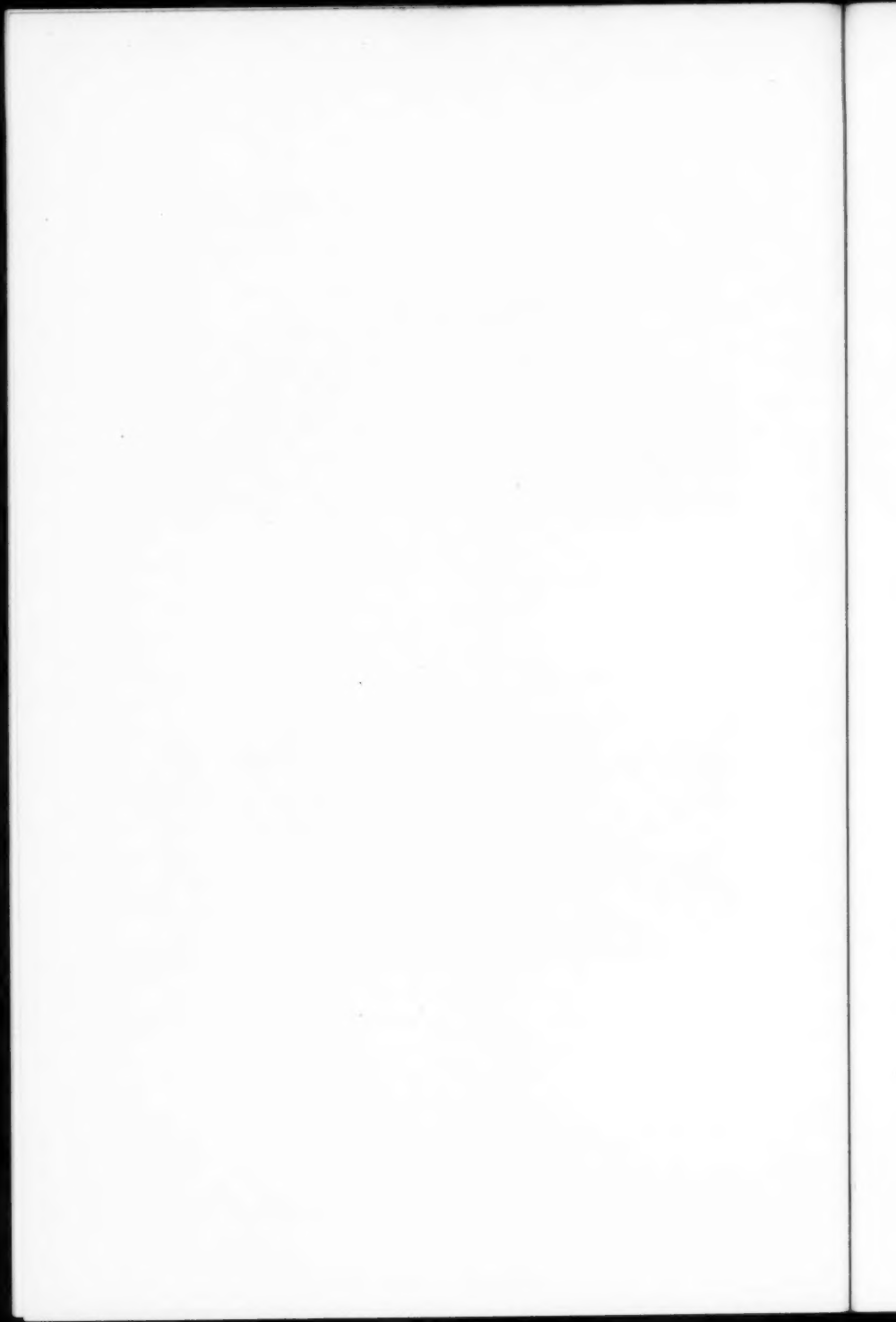
A few specific incidents will illustrate the fluctuations in the career of Metten. Its destruction by the Hungarians in the tenth century has already been mentioned. Early in the thirteenth century its buildings were destroyed by fire and years were required to repair this damage. Two hundred years later, in the fifteenth century, Metten was famous for its beautiful manuscripts and ornamented books, some of which are still preserved as models of calligraphy. Two hundred years after that, in the seventeenth century, the abbot of Metten stands forth as a leading figure in the religious organization of Bavaria. The great church with its two spires, which so impresses visitors today, was built in the eighteenth century. In 1803, almost exactly a thousand years after it was founded, Metten and its properties were confiscated by the state and its twenty-three monks scattered. This was in the days of Napoleon and under his influence. Almost a generation passed before it was reestablished around one of those twenty-three monks who still remained. Since then it has again grown, and upon the outbreak of the World War it was famous for



MONTE CASSINO



METTEN



its school, and its community consisted of seventy members, mostly priests.

The establishment of Monte Cassino in Italy in 529 thus marks the foundation of an order whose influence was widened by the work of Pope Gregory the Great and later by that of St. Boniface and other English monks. We have seen this rule spread with the help of Frankish kings until it led to the foundation of Metten in eastern Bavaria in 801. That monastery was to continue under the Benedictine rule right down to the present day. Monte Cassino and Metten are linked, and 529 has been brought into touch with 1927, but we are still some distance away from Minnesota.

Visitors to St. Paul are usually shown what is called "the old German church," the Church of the Assumption, as one of the most picturesque of the older sights of that picturesque city. And tourists as they drive along the highway that leads westward out of St. Cloud marvel at the church at St. Joseph, which seems too large for the little village that clusters about it. They are yet more puzzled by the church steeples that peer out over the trees four miles beyond, at Collegeville. Yet all three and many more spots in Minnesota and the Northwest serve to establish the connection between Minnesota and Metten and Monte Cassino.

There are doubtless people still living in St. Cloud and its vicinity who remember a little group of three priests who arrived there in the spring of 1856 and built themselves a wooden structure on a farm some two miles south of that city. Less than a year later the territorial legislature of Minnesota passed a law recognizing as a "body politic and corporate" the members of the religious order of St. Benedict — Demetrius Marogna, Cornelius Wittmann, Bruno Riss, and Alexis Roetzer being mentioned by name — and their associates and successors in office. The bill recognized this order "as instituted for scientific, educational, and ecclesiastical purposes" and authorized them to establish an institution or seminary to be

known as "St. John's Seminary." This seminary was actually opened on November 10, 1857, having one professor and five students.

Thus began in Minnesota a community living according to the Rule of St. Benedict and dedicated like Monte Cassino to the two-fold ideals of religious salvation and humanitarian service. It is perhaps fitting in light of the title of this paper to note that the leader of this little band was originally an Italian nobleman. The connection of Minnesota and Monte Cassino is thereby made a bit more intimate. The Very Reverend Demetrius Marogna, however, was not an abbot. His title was that of prior, and his community a priory of the Monastery of St. Vincent in Pennsylvania. The latter had been founded only a few years before by Benedictine monks from Metten in Bavaria. It was there that Father Demetrius had entered the novitiate and from there he had been sent to Minnesota. The Minnesota priory was not long kept under tutelage. The parent monastery cut it adrift in 1858. Scarcely well enough established to be recognized as a monastery, it justified the confidence of its parent by toddling along as a canonical priory until 1865, when, through the efforts of the abbot of St. Vincent, it was raised to the status of an abbey or monastery by the Pope. It is interesting to note that the name of the monastery at this time was "St. Louis on the Lake."

The coming of this little band of monk-priests was due indirectly to the efforts of an interesting missionary priest, Father Pierz, who had worked among the Indians and whites of this Northwest for many years. Father Pierz was one of those rare individuals who thrive on hardship that would kill most people. He lived to be ninety-five years old, though he had spent many of those years in tramping the forests and fields of the region in an age when there were no roads to ease the journey of the weary traveler and very little shelter to temper the rigors of subzero winters. Father Pierz came

to love this region, to regard it as God's own country. In his enthusiasm he saw in the woods and lands, the lakes and streams of Minnesota an abundance of natural resources even beyond the vivid imagination of later realtors. When settlement began up here Father Pierz launched an eloquent epistolary campaign through German Catholic newspapers of the country urging Germans who were Catholics to settle here. It was his enthusiastic urging that attracted the early settlers of this race and religion. When they arrived he sought to minister to them, but found the work too great for his declining energy. He was then already past seventy years, and he sought for others to carry on his religious work. One of his assistants, a young priest, returning from an emergency service in midwinter, was frozen to death. The authorities really did not require such an incident to convince them of the need of special help. There was need both of persons who were trained to endure hardships and of persons who understood the language and customs of these settlers. Bishop Cretin of St. Paul finally wrote to missionary societies in Bavaria for aid, and was by them directed to the Monastery of St. Vincent in Pennsylvania, which had been established under the leadership of Father Sebastian Wimmer, himself a monk-priest from Metten in Bavaria.

With the establishment of the Benedictine foundation in Minnesota, additional members continued to come for several years. Some of these had entered the order at Metten, others at St. Vincent. It was not long, however, before the community was recruiting its new members from Minnesota and surrounding regions. Indeed, the second abbot of the institution, Father Alexius Edelbrock, was a boy in St. Cloud when the first fathers came there. He had been one of the first students of old St. John's Seminary, but because his father opposed his desire to become a priest and monk he had gone to St. Vincent to enter the order. When his education was completed the abbot there sent him back to Minnesota, and he be-

came one of the strong personalities in the history of the community as well as an interesting and important figure in the history of the state and the Northwest. Of pioneer stock, accustomed from earliest boyhood to pioneer life in Minnesota, he was eminently fitted to cope with the problems that arose. Under his leadership the monastery grew in membership, in material resources, and in influence. He was one of that iron age of strong men in Minnesota, the age of James J. Hill, Archbishop Ireland, and Bishop Whipple, with all of whom he was well acquainted and among whom he occupies an honorable place.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present a systematic history of the community in Minnesota. That would be too long a story, and it is better left to others more familiar with the detailed development of the community and the Northwest. Only a few of the more salient features of its work and importance can be pointed out here.²

That first community had barely begun its work when it realized the need of added help from women in educational work. So a call was early sent to Bavaria for women who were willing to undertake educational work under the hardships of pioneer life. The first group of Benedictine sisters responded to this call in 1857, just a year after the arrival of the fathers, and thus was founded the Convent of St. Benedict, now flourishing at St. Joseph. It was their work to care for elementary education, minister to the sick, and serve as a refuge for those in need. As at Monte Cassino, so here in Minnesota, the Benedictine monastery and convent grew up within a few miles of each other, and both contributed to the development of a wide locality. The central establishment at

² For information about the Benedictine community the writer is indebted to a volume by Father Alexius Hoffmann entitled *St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota: A Sketch of Its History* (Collegeville, 1907); to a manuscript history of the monastery by the same author, which the writer was permitted to read, in the library of the university; and to the kindness of the Abbot Alcuin.

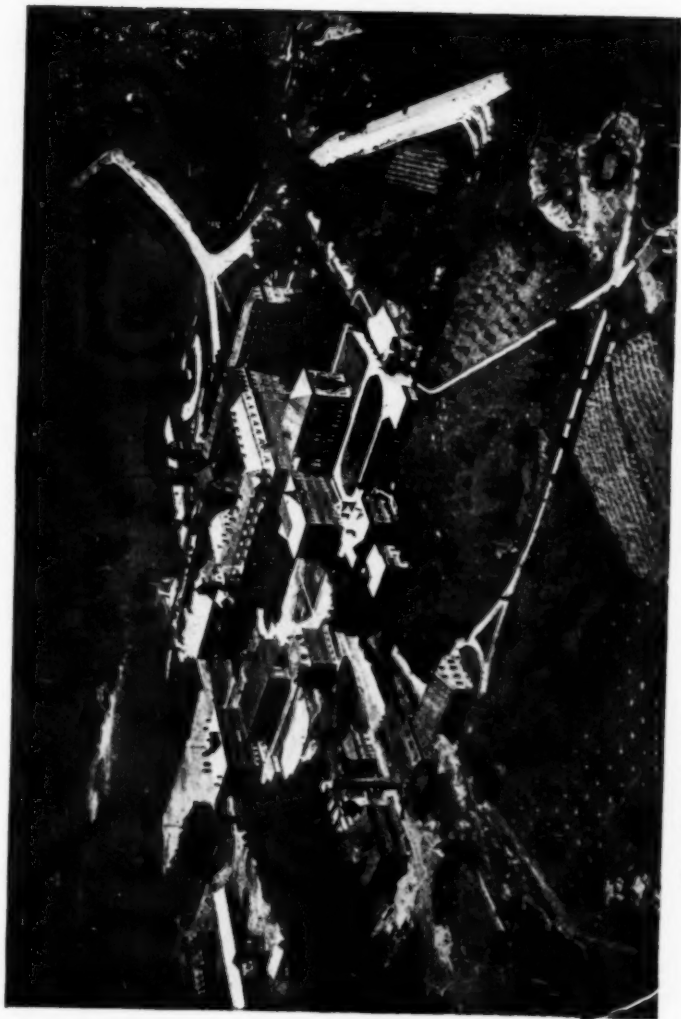
Collegeville, with its large and growing community of priests and brothers, was not only a shelter for the priests but also a school center. It offered opportunities for higher education in communities which in themselves could not have afforded even an elementary school. The sisters looked after the primary instruction, going out to settlements large enough to maintain school buildings of their own, or receiving at their convent the children of people in smaller settlements or on scattered farms. The fathers performed this service in higher education. The chief function of the latter was religious. They journeyed out from the monastery to conduct services in small and scattered settlements. Where the community was large enough to support a resident priest, fathers were sent to remain for extended periods, sometimes years. While most of their work was among the white people, they did important work also among the Indians and still carry on their work on the Indian reservations in the state.

The distance to which the work of these Benedictine communities was extended seems almost incredible. The monastery has helped to serve needy communities as far away as northwestern Canada and even the Pacific Northwest of this country. The sisters have supplied elementary teachers and nurses almost as widely. The Canadian work of the men has now reached a stage where it supports an independent monastery, whose present abbot was in charge of college work at St. John's just a year or so ago. The sisters, too, have seen their work increase to such proportions as to warrant the separate establishment in 1900 of a community at Duluth, the Convent of St. Scholastica. The sisters there carry on both educational and nursing work, just as do the sisters of St. Benedict at St. Joseph. Even so, there are more than nine hundred professed members of the latter community, the largest Benedictine community of women in the world.

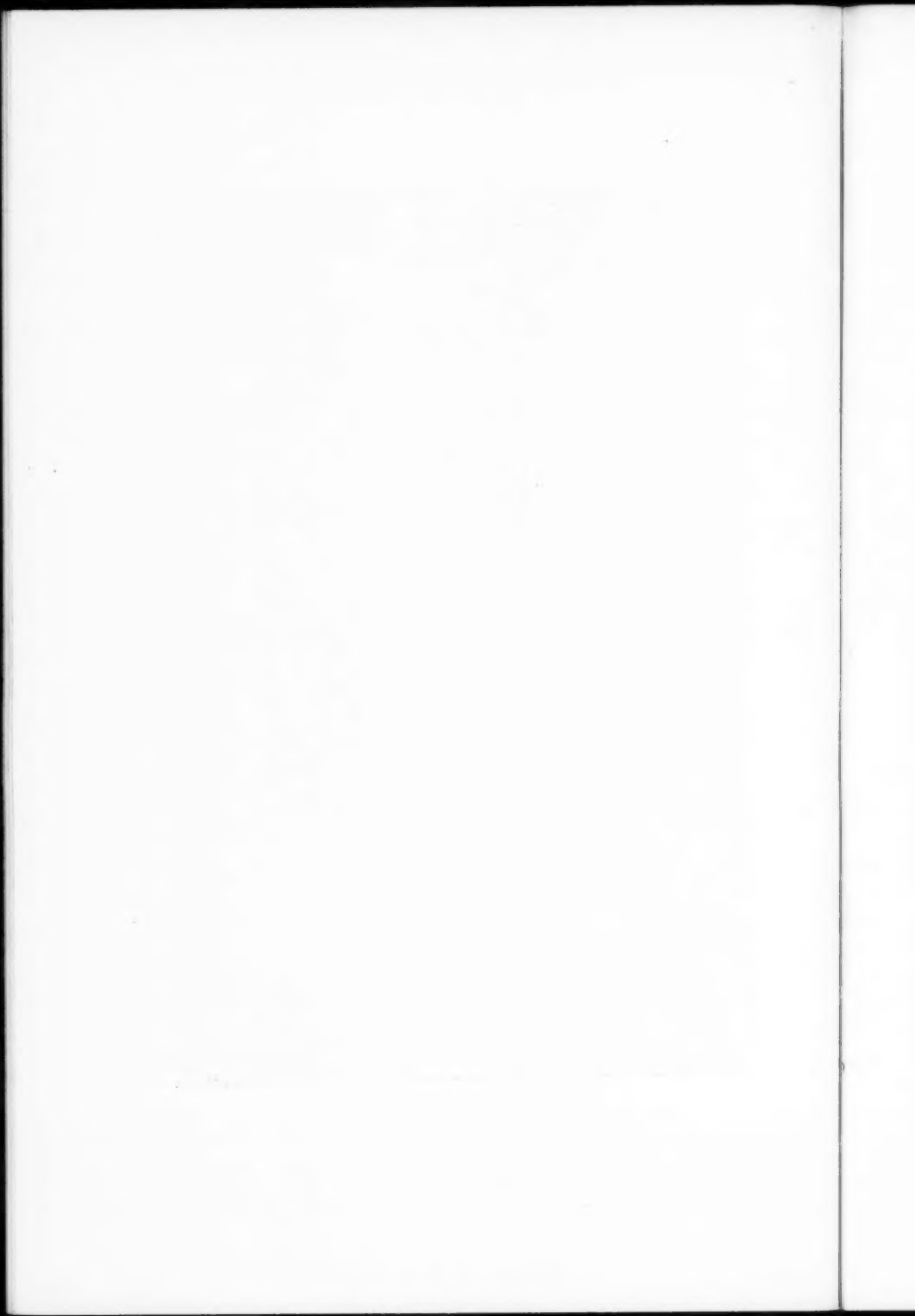
To the historian of early European history it is peculiarly interesting to watch the growth on Minnesota soil of an institution whose work he has so often followed in those earlier

years of European civilization. It is amazing to find repeated here so much of what occurred around Monte Cassino, or at the monastery of the Venerable Bede in Anglo-Saxon England, or at Fulda in western Germany, or at Metten in eastern Bavaria. Only the names and dates are different. The successful qualities of those earlier monasteries, particularly in England and Germany, where the work was of a pioneer character, reappear in the Minnesota community. Like them, the Minnesota monastery was peculiarly fitted to cope with pioneer problems. It was practically as self-sustaining in the material needs of life as were they. Its priest members could likewise serve the scattered small groups of their flock over a radius of many miles.

It is interesting also to note how truly the Minnesota communities have run the course of the older monasteries in identifying themselves with the localities in which they were established. Originally the monks came from Germany to serve the needs of the German Catholic settlers of this region. They spoke German as their native tongue, both monks and settlers, and they conducted their work among the adults in German. But from the very opening of their seminary in 1857 they carried on instruction for their younger pupils in English. Many of the fathers still speak German fluently, but it is already apparent that most of them speak English more readily. Where English was the acquired tongue in 1857, German has become the acquired tongue for those of the present generation. In this, both monastery and convent have served a very important function in easing the transition of these settlers from their German origin to American society. The composition of the communities reflects a similar development. Whereas the earlier membership was almost exclusively of German origin, the present membership, while it still has many German names, probably a majority, embraces also Irish, Czech, Polish, French, English, and even Scandinavian names. This is still more true of the students enrolled in the schools. One infers from newspaper accounts of St. John's University



ST. JOHN'S ABBEY AND UNIVERSITY, COLLEGEVILLE, MINNESOTA
[From a photograph in the possession of St. John's University]



that the students there engage in football, basket ball, and baseball games, probably have trained coaches for the purpose, and have a very creditable record of competition with other colleges of the state. In other words, the institution has become within little more than half a century an integral part of the characteristic life of the state. This impression is all the more strongly fixed on the mind of the visitor as he gazes upon a large portrait of the late Senator Knute Nelson which hangs upon the wall of the dean's office — a mark of the high regard in which the late senator is held by the monks.

Their part in the cultural life of the state is no less impressive and no less typical of Benedictine traditions. They did not rear an imposing Gothic or Romanesque or Renaissance edifice on the prairies when they arrived in 1857. Their first community dwelling and seminary or college was a log house measuring some twelve by twenty feet. As their needs required, the building was enlarged and new buildings added. The location was changed several times, and on their present location the cluster of buildings reflects further stages in growth. Those buildings give some evidence too of the influence of an education that is in touch with ideas of Europe as well as of Minnesota, but mostly evidence of a close connection with Minnesota and the Northwest itself. Architecturally, the buildings are, and presumably have been since 1857, like and just a little in advance of the general taste of the surrounding society.

One cannot visit St. John's without becoming aware of the regard for art and science prevailing there. It is present in the care with which the grounds are kept, and trees, shrubs, and flowers planted; and in the location and character of the buildings. Within the chapel the vestments and other articles of religious service reveal this taste and interest in art. The library is a truly impressive one, and, while dominated by the interest in theology and church history, it has a considerable number of more secular works. It is quite evident that the traditional intellectual interests of the Benedictine Order are not

forgotten. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that the horticultural experimentation of some of the fathers there has resulted in the development of several fruits adapted to this climate. Nor is it surprising to find, among the many protests against the so-called anti-evolution bill which confronted the legislature last winter, a series of vigorous resolutions from St. John's University. In both art and learning this monastery has held an active and important place in the history of Minnesota.

Or, putting it in another fashion, one may think of the Roman Benedict and the equally Roman Gregory back there in Italy of the sixth century, or the Anglo-Saxon Bede and the equally Anglo-Saxon Boniface of the eighth century, or the Frankish Charlemagne at the opening of the ninth, as well as of that long line of Bavarian Benedictines at Metten as contributing to the history of Minnesota or even to that of Stearns County. Each of them took part in forging the chain which links Monte Cassino and Metten and Minnesota. The Benedictines of Minnesota are neither Bavarian nor Anglo-Saxon nor Italian; they are American and Minnesotan, but they carry on the traditions of a glorious past which links them to the rest.

This survey is only a reminder of the fact that our civilization is composed of the achievements of the past, particularly of the European past. As our legal institutions hark back to English history, even farther back than Magna Charta; our common language to the England of Chaucer, Wycliffe, and Shakespeare; so many of our social and economic institutions and most of our religious institutions were fashioned in the various countries of Europe anywhere from one hundred to more than two thousand years ago. The Benedictine strand from Monte Cassino to Metten to Minnesota is but one of the many strands from which the multicolored warp of Minnesota and western civilization is woven. It is this multicolored and multiform character of our civilization which distinguishes us from any of the countries of Europe today.

Although the Monastery of St. John and the Convents of St. Benedict and of St. Scholastica are very definitely linked with their European past, much more important to us is their part in the development of Minnesota and adjacent regions. Just as Monte Cassino contributed to the maintenance of Roman and Italian civilization, Canterbury and Wearmouth to the making of English civilization, Fulda and Metten to that of German civilization, so St. John's has definitely contributed to the making of Minnesota as we have it today. It served to stabilize that first scattering German Catholic element which came here in the fifties. Its establishment encouraged other Germans to come here, and it is probably one of the most important, if not altogether the most important, factor in explaining the great influx of those settlers into this region. From its very beginnings in this state the Benedictine community set about the problem of teaching these German people the arts of American life. It had the two-fold problem of learning those arts itself and then of imparting them. The great strides which have been made toward this goal in this section are in no small measure due to the work of the Benedictines. The thorough identification of the interests of these monks and nuns with those of Minnesota and the nation is further illustrated by their intelligent and effective coöperation in dealing with other problems of the region, such as the Indian problem and various phases of educational work. Their contributions to domestic science and art, and their work in hospitals and care for the sick are noteworthy. Their connection with a long, definite past renders them somewhat more picturesque, but their real importance to Minnesota lies in their work as a Minnesota institution. While perhaps they have not yet given us a Minnesota Bede or Roswitta, they have already made modest contributions in both fields of endeavor suggested by those illustrious names, and their past efforts are clearly an earnest of even greater efforts in the future.

AUGUST C. KREY

FORT BEAUHARNOIS

The erection of a permanent post among the Sioux Indians had been a favorite project of the French in North America from the days of the first discoveries in the West. Such a post was designed not only to secure an alliance with one of the most powerful western tribes, dwelling in one of the richest fur countries on the continent, but also to serve as a link in the chain of discovery by which the French hoped to cross the continent and open a land route to the western ocean. It must be remembered that no one at that time realized the great width of the continent, and there was always the hope that a route would be found, largely by waterways, which would lead as easily to the western ocean as the route by the Great Lakes furnished access to the interior.

When Du Luth in 1679 made his epoch-making journey to the home of the Sioux on Mille Lacs, he expected to push thence westward across the continent to the salt water described to him by his envoys among the western branches of the Siouan people. He was making preparation the next year to pursue his discoveries in that direction, when the misfortunes that befell La Salle's party caused a complete reversal of his plan and turned his face eastward instead of westward. Had La Salle honestly kept to the terms of his concession and had he not surreptitiously attempted to tap the great beaver-bearing lands of the Sioux, expressly against the prohibition of the court, who knows what Du Luth might have accomplished in the latter years of the seventeenth century?

Then came Perrot, the practical, the diplomat in Indian dealings, who in 1686 — after a winter at Trempealeau — built Fort St. Antoine on the northeast bank of Lake Pepin, and there carried on an advantageous trade with the Sioux. It was Perrot who formed the alliance between the Sioux and the French and who took possession on May 8, 1689, for France

of all the Sioux territory about the headwaters of the Mississippi. Le Sueur, who was present at the last-named ceremony, and who was very popular among the tribesmen, cemented the alliance by escorting in 1695 the first Sioux chief and chiefess to the colony, introducing them to the great Onontio, Count de Frontenac, governor of all New France. Le Sueur also secured a concession to search for mines, and in 1700 mounted the Mississippi in a sailboat and built the first French post in the interior of Minnesota.

The founding of Louisiana and the occupation of the lower Mississippi Valley in the early years of the eighteenth century gave an additional impetus to western discovery. Posts were built about Lake Superior, the northwesternmost of these being intended as a base for a far western push. To obtain accurate and definite information of possibilities for westward discovery and to ascertain the best routes thither, the regent, the Duc d'Orleans, sent in 1720 a special envoy to North America; and that his mission might not be made the subject of heedless gossip, it was disguised as a visitation of the French missions of the interior. The ecclesiastic chosen for this examination was a discreet and able Jesuit, Pierre François Xavier Charlevoix.

Father Charlevoix left Montreal early in May, 1721, and with a retinue of *voyageurs* in two canoes made the journey around the lower lakes and reached Mackinac on June 28. Here he met Sieur de Montigny, who was about setting out for his new post at the far end of the Bay of the Winnebago (Green Bay). There the regent's envoy might hope to learn much of the great Sioux country to which Montigny's new post was the entrance. At La Baye, Charlevoix was fortunate enough to meet a delegation of the Sioux, whom he questioned concerning their habitat and the possibility of traversing that country towards the west. The Sioux told him that some branches of their tribe traded with western tribesmen who lived on salt water, and Charlevoix took much encouragement from this report.

Upon his return he made a detailed report to the regent, recommending two routes for western exploration — one through the northwestern end of Lake Superior, one through the Sioux country, and as a preliminary for the latter he urged that a strong fort should be erected on the upper Mississippi and that the powerful tribe of the Sioux should be bound in firm alliance with the French. Matters of this kind moved deliberately in eighteenth-century New France. Recommendations approved in 1723 were not finally acted upon until 1727, but in that year elaborate preparations were made at Quebec and Montreal to occupy the region at the head of the Mississippi.

The chief reason for the delay in carrying out the recommendations of Charlevoix lay in the unsettled conditions of the region now known as Wisconsin, caused by the hostilities of the tribe called the Renards or Foxes. Since 1712 this fierce band of savages had been on the warpath against the French, had infested all the waterways and ambushed all the trading paths, had murdered many of France's red allies, and had even struck down many Frenchmen. In 1716 Captain Louvigny had led a war expedition along Green Bay and the Fox River, and had forced upon the Foxes a somewhat unstable peace, which remedied the situation but very little. In fact, Charlevoix on his voyage of 1721 had been obliged to take a longer route to the Mississippi than that by the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, because of the ravages of this tribe; and upon the Illinois River he saw ghastly evidences of their hostility to the Illinois Indians, France's faithful allies. In the course of this conflict the Foxes had succeeded in allying themselves with the Sioux at the headwaters of the Mississippi, and in procuring from them the promise of an asylum in the event of being driven from their homes in eastern Wisconsin. Thus an additional incentive to the erection of the post was the importance of detaching the Sioux from this alliance with the Foxes.

In order to reach the Sioux country, however, an expedition must pass through the territory of the rebel Foxes; therefore, Sieur de Lignery was sent to treat with this tribe and to make at least a temporary truce with them. Lignery, who was an old hand at Indian diplomacy, was successful in his efforts, and he arranged on June 7, 1726, that in the near future a further conference should be held either at Chicago or at *Le Rocher* on the Illinois River, in which the Illinois Indians and the commandant of French Illinois would participate. Trusting in the results of this truce the new governor of New France, Charles de la Boische, marquis de Beauharnois, gave orders to prepare the expedition for the Sioux country, in accordance with the instructions he had received on leaving France.

Beauharnois was by far the ablest governor France had sent to the New World since the time of Frontenac. He was reputed to be a natural son of Louis XIV, and he had all the dignity and love of ceremony that characterized that monarch. Moreover, he had remarkably good judgment and a grasp of administrative duties rare in the officials of New France. Under the Marquis de Beauharnois Canada had for a score of years a governorship unsurpassed in its colonial history. The time seemed ripe, therefore, for an expansion of colonial influence and for recommencing westward exploration.

The first step toward founding the proposed post among the Sioux was the formation of a commercial company to finance the undertaking. The colonial treasury was always impoverished; but the merchants of New France were eager to participate in opening the vast territory of the Siouan peoples, which had so great a reputation for rich furs. The contract made by the governor with this company is an interesting document from the administrative and economic points of view. The promoters were to have a complete monopoly of the trade of the Sioux country for three years, with a preference for future years. In return they agreed to build a "fort of stakes,

a chapel, a house for the commanding officer, and one for the missionaries." They were also to convey during the ensuing three years, free of cost, provisions and supplies for the commandant and his second in command as well as for the missionaries, the amount and weight of which were specifically stipulated; and they were to buy at Mackinac three or four extra canoes in order to transport these goods over the rapids and shallows of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway. This contract, signed at Montreal on June 6, 1727, is preserved in the archives of the Chicago Historical Society.

With regard to the members of this trading company we have some interesting information. Jean Baptiste Boucher de Montbrun and his brother François were grandsons of Pierre Boucher, first historian of the colony of New France, ennobled by the king for his services. He had an immense estate at Boucherville, where he lived in patriarchal fashion, his nine sons and their children around him. The elder Boucher died ten years before the date of this contract, at the ripe age of ninety-seven. His seventh son, Jean, sieur de Montbrun, was the father of the two young adventurers who planned to undertake the fur trade on this farthest frontier. Of the other partners, the Garreaus and Campeaus seem to have come from Detroit; the rest are unknown, save Paul Marin, who became one of the most distinguished officers of the Northwest, but whose personality is somewhat shrouded in mystery. He had been for some years at Chequamegon Bay, where doubtless he had had some knowledge of the Sioux. He was later to end the Fox wars, and to make a fortune from his contact with the western tribesmen. Now, in mid-career, he visited the upper Mississippi probably for the first time.

The Sioux chiefs whom Charlevoix met at La Baye had intimated that they would welcome "black robe" missionaries in their villages; therefore it was determined to send two Jesuits to the new post as messengers of the gospel. Fathers de Gonnor and Guignas were chosen, the latter of whom be-

came the historian of the expedition, giving the details with a lively pen. Guignas joined the party at Mackinac, while the other missionary came out from Montreal. The governor asked from the king, in their behalf, a case of mathematical instruments including a six or seven-foot telescope, thus indicating that they were to take scientific observations, and determine the latitude, longitude, and perhaps the altitude of the new post.

For commandant the governor chose René Boucher, sieur de la Perrière, an uncle of the Montbruns, who not only belonged to this well-known family but was a distinguished officer in the colonial troops. La Perrière had seen service during the intercolonial wars and had the unenviable distinction of having led the French and Indian raid of 1708 which resulted in the sacking of Haverhill, Massachusetts. He had visited the Sioux country in 1715 as a preliminary to Louvigny's expedition against the Foxes; and he had been destined for the command at La Baye, but another officer had been preferred in his stead. Having been promoted to a captaincy the previous year, La Perrière was eager to serve once more in the far West; although the command was desired by him, he none the less found the hardships of the journey and of the winter so great that, now nearly sixty years of age and worn by previous services, he was unable to remain at his new post throughout the first year.

The expedition left Montreal on the sixteenth of June, when shy, early summer was abroad in this northern land. We do not certainly know its route, but in all probability the way was up the Ottawa River, with its numerous portages, across the Mattawan Portage to Georgian Bay, and thence to the fort at Mackinac, the emporium of the western country. Not quite five weeks were employed in this toilsome journey, which was a customary one for the *voyageurs* and all the personnel of the fur trade. Nine days were passed at Michilimackinac, buying new canoes, repacking goods, joining

in the social gayeties of the season, meeting old friends, and making new ones. The officers hoped an express would arrive from Montreal before their departure, but none came, and the first day of August they set forth from this northern post for their far journey to the Mississippi, strengthening themselves, writes Guignas, "against the pretended extreme difficulties of securing passage through the country of the Renards."

For a week the little flotilla crept along the north shore of Lake Michigan and the rock-bound coast of Green Bay, arriving on August 8 at the log fort known as La Baye, on the present site of the city of Green Bay. The commandant, François Amariton, received the travelers graciously and assured them that the way was open through the country of the Foxes. With but a brief delay, therefore, the expedition advanced along the lower Fox River, accompanied by Pierre Reaume, official interpreter at the Green Bay post, and Father Jean Chardon, its missionary, who took this opportunity to refresh himself by intercourse with his fellow Jesuits. On August 13, late in the evening, a group of Winnebago chiefs came into La Perrière's camp, bringing presents and offering peace calumets. The next day the French arrived at the Winnebago village on what is now known as Doty Island, a site occupied by this tribe for two centuries or more. Here they were welcomed with volleys of musketry and great demonstrations of joy.

Thence the French canoes crossed the northern end of Lake Winnebago, entered the upper Fox, and advanced to the first Renard village, where the Oshkosh suburb named Oakwood now stands. When their visitors arrived the Fox chiefs ran down to the banks with their peace calumets and quickly arranged for an informal council. At this council, Reaume and Father Chardon were of great use in placating "these cut-throats and assassins," and this interview with a tribe "so dreaded and really very little to be dreaded" was amicably

accomplished. The next morning the interpreter and missionary returned to Green Bay, and the officers, rejoicing greatly at having passed the village of the Fox rebels, set themselves to overcome the winding mazes of the stream, at this time in summer filled with tall reeds and wild-rice stalks. "Never was there a more tiresome voyage made than this. . . . We continued to grope our way, as it were, for a week; for we did not arrive until the [twenty] ninth, towards three o'clock in the afternoon, by pure chance (believing ourselves still far away) at the portage of the Ouisconsin." The portage quickly and safely crossed, they embarked upon the Wisconsin, "a shallow river upon a bed of shifting sand. . . . The shores are either bare and rugged mountains or low points with a foundation of sand." Early in September the little flotilla of canoes reached the Father of Waters, and began its ascent. The chronicler accurately describes the appearance of the Mississippi: "This beautiful river is spread out between two chains of high mountains, barren and very sterile, regularly distant from each other one league [*three miles*], three quarters of a league, or half a league, where it is narrowest. Its centre is occupied by a chain of islands well wooded, so that in looking at it from the top of the heights, one would imagine that one was looking at an endless valley watered on right and left by two immense rivers."

On September 17, just as the sun touched the zenith, Lake Pepin was reached, and the middle of the southern shore where a low point juts into the water was chosen for building. The woods were dense but offered excellent chance for firewood, by the use of which they were partly cleared by spring. "The day after landing," says our chronicler, "axes were applied to the trees and four days later the fort was entirely finished." What he means by the fort is apparent in the next sentence: "It is a plat of ground a hundred feet square surrounded by stakes twelve feet high with two good bastions." Within this staked enclosure were the commandant's and mis-

sionaries' houses and the chapel, respectively thirty by sixteen feet, thirty-eight by sixteen, and twenty-five by sixteen. Outside the fort each man built for himself a house, and these with the blacksmith's shop and a warehouse for goods formed a considerable village. By the close of October all was snugly finished and one might have seen from any neighboring height the little cluster of huts sending up through wattled chimneys tall columns of smoke into the surrounding forest.

It is not hard to picture this group of thirty to forty persons, most of them accustomed to the life of the woods, making all secure and snug for the long hard winter, which they knew would soon be upon them. Before shutting themselves in their inclosures, however, they had a great hunting excursion in the neighboring woods, but were disappointed in not finding such vast herds of deer as they had heard described. The lack of meat was supplied by the friendly Sioux, a band of whom, consisting of four or five hundred, had hastened to the place and pitched their tepees within sight of the fort, watching with wondering eyes all that these strange white men were doing. Their wonder and astonishment grew into awe and terror on November 14, when a celebration in honor of Marquis de Beauharnois was held. The little wilderness post had been christened in his honor, and on November 4, the day of his patron St. Charles, the missionaries said high mass for him in the morning. In the evening the jollification was to occur; the weather not being propitious, the celebration was postponed until the fourteenth, when "some very fine rockets" were sent aloft amidst the *vivas* for the king and the governor. When the simple tribesmen saw the stars falling from the rockets, the women and children fled in alarm to the surrounding forests, while the men besought the French to stop this dreadful "medicine," which made the very stars fall from the skies.

By this and other means, the visitors acquired a great reputation in this primitive world. The tepees of the redmen soon disappeared, however, as it was time for the winter hunts, and

save for a few stragglers and one band, which came in February, no customers appeared for the traders' goods until rather late in the spring.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of this log village in the primeval wilderness settled down to a long test of endurance during the cold season; but accustomed as most of them were to the rigors of a Canadian winter, they were pleased to find the one on the upper Mississippi less severe; there was less snow than they expected and it had all disappeared by the end of March. Just as they were preparing to enjoy their liberation from the winter's confinement, however, a new misfortune occurred, for the river rose and inundated the point on which the buildings stood. The houses and the fort inclosure were filled to the depth of nearly three feet, and it was not until the end of April that the adventurers could reoccupy their "rather dilapidated" houses.

La Perrière found the flood, added to the cold of the winter season, seriously affecting his health, and so he was obliged to leave his command to his nephew, Pierre Boucherville, and with Father de Gonnor to take the long voyage to Canada. There he arrived so ill that he was not able to report to the governor, who drew from the missionary the facts about conditions in the Northwest. These facts were of vital concern to Beauharnois, for the Foxes had broken their truce, had massacred both French soldiers and Indian allies in the Illinois country, and he was determined utterly to destroy this rebellious tribe. Lignery was ordered to proceed against them, and elaborate plans were made for the second invasion of the Fox River Valley. Large numbers of soldiers and their officers came up from Montreal, among whom were some of the best-known youth of the colony, such as Pierre Vaudreuil, who was later to be its last French governor. From Mackinac the force advanced, sixteen hundred strong, a fourth of which were Frenchmen. But alas for their hopes; Lignery's approach could not be kept secret, the Foxes were warned, and after a toilsome march along the lower Fox River the expedition

reached the Fox villages only to find all the tribe had fled to the interior. "Lignery allows the Foxes to escape," was written by the minister upon the leader's report of the expedition. On his retreat Lignery burned the fort at Green Bay, and took off all the garrison.

Anxiety was great concerning the fate of the French traders and officers at Fort Beauharnois. With the woods swarming with angry fugitive Foxes, intent on wreaking vengeance on every white man, and with the Sioux former allies and friends of the Foxes, the situation on the upper Mississippi was critical. Lignery sent seven of his men overland to warn Boucherville that his post might soon be besieged. He paid two Menominee to guide his messengers, and they won safely through to the fort, where the garrison immediately recognized its danger. The Menominee sounded the Sioux at the Falls of St. Anthony and returned saying they had "Renard hearts." It only remained to escape as expeditiously as possible. On September 18, 1728, Boucherville laid the situation before his men, and all agreed that it would be impossible to hold the post. Lignery had suggested retreat by way of Lake Superior, but, taking into account the lateness of the season, Boucherville thought his best chance lay in running down the Mississippi to the Illinois.

The next day some of his men waited on him to state that they preferred to risk their lives to abandoning their goods. Despite the commandant's urging they insisted on remaining, and he reluctantly left them to their fate. Among these was *Sieur de la J  merais*, who by his address was able to preserve himself and his companions and to "hold the fort" for another year.

Meanwhile Boucherville and his cousins the Montbruns, Father Guignas, and eight others took canoes on October 3, in the hazardous attempt to pass the hostiles unobserved. This they were not able to accomplish; just below the mouth of Rock River they were intercepted and taken captive by a band of Fox allies — Kickapoo and Mascoutens. The savages

deliberated whether to turn the white men over to the Foxes to be burned or to keep them for a profitable ransom. The Montbruns, however, succeeded in escaping, and, alarmed by this circumstance, the captors consented to listen to the Frenchmen and finally agreed to abandon the Foxes and make peace with the white men. Boucherville and his men were escorted to Peoria, permitted to communicate with the officers in Illinois, and ultimately returned to Montreal, whither one of the Montbruns had hastened to notify the governor of their peril.

Meanwhile the little group at Fort Beauharnois had fared much better than they had dared to hope. Sometime that autumn they were dismayed by the approach of a large body of Foxes and Winnebago, who claimed that they were friendly and wanted to lodge around the fort. La Jémerais forbade them, and sternly threatened to fire if they came too close, whereupon they withdrew beyond gunshot and set up their wigwams. One of the traders imprudently ventured into one of their lodges to sell a trap. He was seized, and nearly lost his life. The Foxes, however, hearing from Fort St. Joseph, near the lower end of Lake Michigan, that the commandant there was mercifully inclined, begged for a Frenchman to accompany their chiefs thither to testify to their repentance and desire for pardon. La Jémerais volunteered to go; but found to his cost that the Foxes were not sincere. The truth was there were two parties among them; one wishing to approach the French, the other implacable in its hatred. After detaining the young officer twenty-one days, the Indians at last allowed him to proceed to St. Joseph, and he arrived finally at Montreal unharmed.

The prospects, however, for a profitable trade were very small, the Sioux company surrendered its contract, and sometime in 1729 Fort Beauharnois was entirely abandoned and probably looted and burned by hostile Indians.

The Sioux company was re-formed in 1731, with different backers and undertakers. The convoy, which was commanded by Godefroy de Linctot, stopped at Perrot's old wintering

place near Trempealeau Mountain and remained there for five years, conducting a profitable trade with the Sioux and Iowa tribesmen. Father Guignas was missionary for this post also, but we have no such description as he wrote concerning Fort Beauharnois, and our knowledge of the post life is derived from inference. The garrison and traders were in constant danger, as the Fox wars continued, and in 1733 the commandant at the restored Fort La Baye was slain with several of his officers. Linctot was successful in maintaining a hold upon the Sioux; and in the spring of 1736 he removed his post to Lake Pepin — this time on the northeastern side — and resigned the command to St. Pierre. The latter was forced in 1737 to abandon this post and retreated with Father Guignas and the traders by the Lake Superior route.

It was fourteen years before conditions became sufficiently peaceful to admit of another post among the Sioux. In 1750 Paul Marin, who had ended the Fox wars, secured a concession and sent his son Joseph to reoccupy the Sioux country. Here again we are balked by lack of evidence, but there seems reason to believe that Joseph Marin built his post on or near the site of the destroyed Fort Beauharnois. There he remained for six years, conducting a trade of great proportions, which enriched the Marins and all their confederates and unmercifully exploited the fur-bearing animals of the Northwest. Paul Marin was in 1752 sent to the upper Ohio frontier, where he died the next year somewhere above Pittsburgh. His son Joseph seems to have remained at the Sioux post until 1756, when all the outlying garrisons were called in to aid in defending New France against the English.

This last commandant of the Sioux post was in service on Lake Ontario and at Lake George; he was captured at the battle of the Plains of Abraham and after the conquest was one of the French officers who elected to live in France. So far as is known he never returned to the upper Mississippi or to America.

Neither Linctot nor Marin seems to have had the explorer's spirit, although the ministry continued to urge that the Sioux post should be made the basis of westward discovery. St. Pierre, however, who was a grandson of Jean Nicolet, carried the French flag far out upon the Saskatchewan, and might have crossed to the Pacific had he not been summoned to a nearer frontier. Upon Paul Marin's death St. Pierre replaced him on the upper Ohio, and he was the officer to whom Major George Washington carried the summons of the governor of Virginia to retire from that region. St. Pierre was killed two years later in the naval battle on Lake George.

Thus the heroic daring and enterprise of the great line of French explorers was quenched by the bloody deluge of war, and the vast empire acquired by Louis XIV and Louis XV in North America became the spoil of France's bitterest enemy and rival. Even before the ink was dry on the capitulation of Montreal, British traders had pushed their way into the West and reaped where the French had sown. The very site of Fort Beauharnois was forgotten until Americans took possession, and in the nineteenth century American historians resurrected the sources for the French régime on the upper Mississippi.

Fort Beauharnois was well planned and well placed. It was one of the chain of posts which, sweeping around the great arch of French occupation from Quebec on the east to New Orleans on the south, safeguarded the French empire in interior North America. Had France been able to people her colony, the political fortune of the Mississippi Valley might have been different.

We should not forget, however, that the French in the West, as well as in the East, aided the Americans in wresting what is now the United States from Great Britain. Even some of the descendants of the commandants at Fort Beauharnois were on our side during the Revolution. Timothée de Montbrun not only supported George Rogers Clark in the

Illinois country, but was the commandant of that region under the American flag. Maurice Godefroy de Linctot was Clark's most trusted and able emissary among the northwestern Indians, making it possible for the Americans to maintain a foothold on the upper Mississippi until the signing of the treaty of peace in 1783 gave our new nation all east of the Mississippi River.

So we do well to signalize the bicentenary of the founding of Fort Beauharnois in this year of 1927, while we recall the names and deeds of its officers and the strong push made by France to explore and occupy the headwaters of our greatest river and the land of the great tribe of the Sioux.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

MADISON

WILDERNESS MARTHAS¹

The housewife's lot has never been an heroic one. Who has written epics on making beds or sweeping floors? Even historians, though often charged with too great attention to economic factors, have had little to say regarding the methods of operating that interesting economic unit, the family. If implements such as spinning wheels, cradles, and candle moulds had not become popular as objects of art, how should we of today know anything of the way in which colonial housewives managed their homes?

Yet there have been periods in the development of the American frontier when the housewife's lot was neither humdrum nor unromantic. One of these was during the thirties and forties when the edge of the fur-trader's frontier was to be found in northern Michigan, in Wisconsin, and in Minnesota. There the white woman had not ventured unless she were the wife of a missionary; there half-breed wives and mothers graced the traders' and missionaries' log houses on countless streams and lakes. Of these women reliable and detailed records have been preserved. The reason for this abundance of data lies in the fact that the missionaries and their wives were intrigued by the novel sights in their chosen fields and were accustomed to write of them in their letters and diaries. From these documents the following sketch of pioneer women has been constructed. Though it tells of but three women, it is representative of activities and customs of many others.²

¹ A paper read at the seventy-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 17, 1927. *Ed.*

² The chief sources from which the data in this account have been derived are the manuscript letters and diaries of missionaries. All of these papers may be found, either as originals or as copies, in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society. A large proportion of the letters are copies of the missionaries' correspondence with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston, which

The period was one of color and picturesqueness in this region about the upper Great Lakes. The fur trade was still practically the only material lure to white men; and the Indians still hunted in the winter, migrated to their sugar bushes in the spring, gathered wild rice in the late summer, and fished in the autumn. From her cabin door the housewife looked out over the water to watch her neighbors pass: blanketed Chippewa in birch canoes passing silently in pursuit of their traditional enemies, the Sioux; *voyageurs* in blue capotes and red, feather-decked caps speeding past with voices ringing out over the waters in the strains of *A la claire fontaine* or other folksongs from the valley of the Loire in the valorous days of Henri Quatre; and zealous youths from New England, Austria, and Switzerland following in their wake with faces aglow at the prospects of thousands of souls to be saved for the kingdom of God.

Into such scenes as these Hester Crooks Boutwell was brought as a bride in the fall of 1834. She was the daughter of a Chippewa half-breed woman and Ramsay Crooks, a prominent fur-trader and business man of Mackinac and the city of New York. Little is known of her early years except that she was born on Drummond Island in Lake Huron on May 30, 1817, and was well educated at her father's expense at the mission school at Mackinac. She has been described as a "woman of tall and commanding figure, her black hair and eyes indicating her Indian origin. She was a fluent conversationalist, and careful and tidy in her personal appearance."³

After the completion of her studies in the mission school, she acted as assistant to Miss Chapelle, one of the teachers,

sent out many of the mission workers. Copies of the diaries of Edmund F. Ely and his wife and of William Thurston Boutwell have been drawn upon to supply data on Mrs. Ely and Mrs. Boutwell. One letter in the papers of Henry H. Sibley, to whom Mrs. Frederick Ayer wrote on May 2, 1835, concerning Mrs. Boutwell's culinary skill, is quoted.

³ William H. C. Folsom, *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, 276 (St. Paul, 1888).

and in 1833 she went to Yellow Lake, in western Wisconsin, with the family of the missionary, Frederick Ayer. Here her work was to teach the "infant school," and a contemporary letter from Ayer states that she was "well fitted to teach on this plan." She was not to remain long, however, in this mission teaching little Chippewa. A young Easterner by the name of William Thurston Boutwell had been sent in 1833 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as a missionary to the notorious Pillager band of Chippewa Indians at Leech Lake in what is now northern Minnesota. Earlier he had lived for a time at Mackinac, where he had been much interested in the mission, and here he must have become fairly well acquainted with Hester. At any rate, off on the shores of Leech Lake his thoughts soon turned toward her. His own words taken from a letter of January 23, 1835, tell the story of his unusual courtship better than any paraphrase could:

To the eye of an Ind. nothing looks permanent until he sees the man come who is married & he sees him build his house.

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I was willing to return alone. But experience had taught me, that to reside in a traders family, however I might be called a missionary, yet it was impossible to remove the impression from the Inds. mind, that I was interested in the trade.

To build me a cottage & live alone, I could not live above suspicion, from the fact that single men, clerks in the Company's employ, who do so at their wintering posts, are in the habit of keeping a mistress. . . .

In view of all those circumstances, what was my duty? In brief I must tell you, after a prayerful consideration of the subject, what I did. I cast my [eye] over this barren desolate land, & asked, is there a helper? Instead of going into the first lodge I should chance to fall upon & throwing down my blanket, Prov[idence] directed me to send a dispatch 3 days march across the wilderness to Yellow Lake with proposals to Miss Hester Crooks. The seventh day the messenger brought me an affirmative & the next day I packed up my effects, swung my pack & marched. The fourth day, Sept. 1st at 4 A.M. I arrived at Y. Lake. I had no time to loiter. Embarked the same day & started for Fond du Lac, wher[e] we arrived on the 11th. Here Br[other]

Hall met us & on the same eve. united us in the indissoluble & holy bonds. Left F. D. Lac the next day, & arrived at this place [*Leech Lake*] Oct. 9th, 39 days from Y. Lake.

One longs to have been at Yellow Lake to witness the surprise and flurry of the half-breed girl when Boutwell's wholly unexpected letter was received.

Boutwell kept a diary in which he describes this wedding trip to Leech Lake by way of the St. Louis River, Sandy Lake, and the Mississippi. It was an arduous journey by birch canoe, with execrable portages where "My dear Hester, like a true heart, followed me through mud and water half-leg deep" encumbered "with a few small cooking utensils." And what fine abode for a bride did she find at the end of the journey? A bark lodge for seven weeks! Then the new house was ready for occupancy. Boutwell, in his diary of December 2, 1834, describes it: "Quit my bark lodge, today, for a log mud-walled cottage. This is a palace to me, though I have neither chair, stove, table, or bed-stead. . . . Our windows, which are deer-skins, admit a very imperfect light, scarcely sufficient to enable one to read. One bed and table, and a mat, spread on the floor."

But though the youthful bride may have found imperfect accommodations, she discovered that her neighbors were deeply interested in her. On October 9, 1834, Boutwell confided to his diary: "My wife, I find, is no small curiosity to this people, though one of their kindred, according to the flesh. Her manners and dress being that of an American woman, which most of the number never saw, excites the stare and gaze of all, young and old, male and female."

Here for almost a year Hester lived, cooking for herself and her husband, performing other household duties, visiting the Indians, and endeavoring to teach the children the rudiments of reading and writing and the basic principles of Christianity. Fish, wild rice, and Indian corn were the Boutwells' chief foods, and probably they had only two meals a day, as was the custom throughout the Indian country. The most competent

person to judge of Hester's qualifications for the rôle of wife and housekeeper wrote thus of her at this time :

She has exceeded my highest expectations in culinary affairs, & given me more than one specimen of real N[ew] E[ngland] bread. She is not ashamed to work, & is always at something — when nothing calls for the employment of her hands, she is reading writing or translating, & thus improving herself or endeavoring to benefit others.

To speak plain, she is deserving a better husband than I was ever made to become. She is all & more than I expected in her or any wife.

Then in June the young couple turned their faces eastward again, and the labors and hardships of the same arduous canoe trip were repeated despite the fact that Hester expected to become a mother in less than two months. On August 4 little Elizabeth Antoinette Boutwell opened her eyes in the mission home at La Pointe on Madeline Island in Lake Superior and just a month later she was baptized. On the fourteenth of September the family started on the long trip to Leech Lake, but a young woman accompanied them this time to assist Hester with her babe. One of the incidents of the trip was the baby's falling from her mother's back into the waters of the Mississippi. The fact that the mother was carrying the child on her back speaks for itself: only a woman of Indian blood would have adopted this expedient in order to have her hands free for carrying other things or for aiding her in traveling.

Life in the little mission at Leech Lake was not wholly without its dramatic quality during the next years. A scene that took place on June 24, 1836, before Hester's very eyes is described thus in her husband's diary :

This morning exhibited such a scene as I never before witnessed — a fight between two women, the Big Cloud's wife, and one of the Soldier's daughters. It commenced with billingsgate . . . each in turn reviling the other on her person. The Big Cloud's wife . . . at length . . . became so angry, that she got up and took a stick of wood upon which she was sitting, and laid it onto the other's head with all her might. Now commenced the battle. Each took her fellow by the hair, and pulled until both

fell. Then they began tearing each others clothes. . . . Next she [*the soldier's daughter*] attempted to stab her with a knife. . . . My wife now went out and begged them to desist fighting before her door, and thus ended the affray.

The winter of 1836-37 was hard, both for Indians and whites, since only half as much rice and half as much fish as usual were secured in the fall. In April Hester and her husband were pestered from morning to night with appeals for food, and many a touching scene must have been enacted in the little log cabin.

In May, 1837, a baby boy joined the mission family and when he was fourteen days old, he, like his sister before him, took a long journey of several weeks' duration. On August 13 at La Pointe he was baptized Ramsay Crooks Boutwell after his rich, influential grandfather in New York. The latter was not unmindful of this little family in the far-away West, for in September, 1836, with his second wife and Hester's seven half-brothers and sisters he arrived from New York at Mackinac, where one of his activities was to write to his son-in-law and to send a big bundle of newspapers and two boxes of good things. Sent by special conveyance, too, was "a 'Doll' for dear little Antoinette." The closing paragraph of his letter bespeaks his interest in his daughter and granddaughter: "Do I pray you write me often. All that concerns you interests me deeply. Kiss your dear Hester for me, and tell her to hug her Baby frequently for my sake. Give her an extra buss with the 'Doll.'"

No doubt to Hester's relief, Boutwell did not return to Leech Lake but went with his family to Fond du Lac, where, for a brief period, they lived with the family of another missionary, Edmund F. Ely, who also had married a woman with Indian connections, Catherine Bissell. She was born on November 25, 1817, and like Hester Crooks was educated at the Mackinac mission. On June 30, 1834, she went to La Pointe to assist in the mission school. Ely was there at the time and mentions her arrival in his diary. On July 12 she

was admitted to membership in the La Pointe church. On August 30 in the same church she became the wife of Ely. Until October they remained at La Pointe and then Ely returned to his mission school at Fond du Lac taking his bride with him. Evidently the house to which they repaired on their arrival was hardly even the "palace" that Boutwell describes, for Ely's diary entry for November 7 reads: "We begin to feel comfortable in my house. Have mudded & whitewashed (or wht clayed) it—& put up our beds (bunks)." And the next entry reveals the trials of the pioneer housewife: "A Rainy Night last night, but our house was tight compared with what it was when the last rain fell. . . . Only the Eaves had any bark on—& our floor was completely drenched. We laid some boards on the floor—put our blankets on them. Piled up our trunks & boxes—on wh[ic]h we laid a pole & over this drew my Bed oilcloth—crawled under & slept out the Storm."

Ely's diary also tells of one of the little customs that soon developed in this new home: "Some days since, Catharine copied a Scripture promise on a Slip of paper, applicable to the state of mind she supposed me to be in. It was very seasonable. I answered in the same manner. It has become a daily exercise."

Early in the new year Ely was obliged to go to La Pointe and during his absence Catherine and a native convert carried on the school. Later, after his return, he and his wife visited one of the native sugar camps, the grove where maple sugar was being made. They "Had a pleasant walk . . . by moonlight &—arrived at the Camp just before break of day." These spring sojourns of the Chippewa at their sugar camps were an interesting phase of savage life, and Ely and his wife could hardly have become conversant with Indian customs without witnessing some of them.

One day in the spring Ely fulfilled a long-felt desire by going to view the beautiful rapids in the St. Louis River above the mission. He took Catherine with him, as he did on most of his

trips afield. Once, in April, when he went alone, he returned to find his house closed and no wife to greet him. He learned to his dismay that she had started for the rapids early in the day. As he was starting out with others to search for her, he saw her coming across the Grand Portage road.

She had walked out for exercise in the morning . . . & having proceeded far on the way to Kokabika [*the rapids*], she concluded to go on, expecting to find me there — was much fatigued before arriving there. . . . She rested a few moments & pursued our path over the high lands — from lodge to lodge. Our tracks were fresh before her. She pressed on — Slipping & Stumbling. Having passed all the lodges, she must reach home, or suffer. Had nothing on her feet but one pr Hose & a pr of Seal Slippers. Her clothes were wet & heavy — excitement alone sustained her. With Bruised knees & wrenched Joints, she arrived — & in a short time was scarce able to support herself on her feet.

Perhaps this was the cause of her severe preparturition illness; for weeks she was very ill, and Ely was all attention to her, taking her out on the bay for canoe rides whenever she felt able to leave her bed. Finally, on May 29, he records in his diary, "This has been a day of deep interest & anxiety in the Family. About 11 o'clock Catharine was delivered of a *Daughter* both mother & daughter are doing well."

In this new object of attention and care Catherine's interests were completely absorbed. A little diary in her handwriting has been preserved, wherein she records very naïvely her amazement at all the sweetness and precocity of her little daughter. "We think her on the whole a pretty good baby. She does not seem to complain without some reason. She begins to notice those around her & appears pleased when noticed. She is now seven weeks old." On July 22 the mother recorded: "Sometimes it seems as if she was pleading to be taken up when she catches an eye fixed upon her, her whole body eyes, arm, are all in motion pleading." On one occasion the father made the entry: "Thursday [July] 28. Baby's fond of listening to music, sometimes she shows pleasure at the sound of the flute, rather fretful this afternoon." Another

entry characterizes her as lying in her cradle "hardly to be resisted." Quite modern parents these were — see how they frowned on that dreadful habit of rocking children to sleep: "Oct. 24. Her Father knocked of[f] the rockers from the cradle. She had got in a habit of being rocked to sleep & she could not sleep without We thought it best to have her go to sleep without rocking. The First day she cried very much. She wanted to be rocked. When she saw that it could not be so she finally drop[p]ed asleep. The next day she did not cry. She now goes to sleep without being rocked, which is altogether better."

The diary goes on through the excitement of the day when she held out her hands to be taken, to the memorable occasion when she could sit alone, and on to the red letter day in November when a tooth was discovered. She had one habit that children in civilized communities do not indulge: "Mary is very fond of sucking rabbit bones." Finally she began to creep, and the day came when she imitated the class of little Indians who were being taught the letter *k*. When she was eleven months old her mother was delighted to find her standing alone, and at thirteen months she began to walk. Thus did this half-breed mother pass her days far from civilization but interested in the things in which all mothers are interested.

Other half-breed women who are mentioned casually in the diaries and letters already quoted, nearly all of whom were wives of fur-traders, are Mrs. Vincent Roy, Mrs. Ambrose Davenport, Mrs. Pierre Cotté, Mrs. Henry Cotté, and Mrs. Lapointe. The diaries depict them journeying from place to place, as they did so frequently, attending mission classes, learning from the young Ely how to make bread, interpreting for the missionaries, making maple sugar, taking sleigh rides on the harbor ice, and in general living a half savage, half civilized life. One of them, Mrs. Chaboillez at Red Lake, stands out as a more distinct personality than most of the others because of a description of her in a letter of Frederick Ayer dated February 24, 1843: "His [*Chaboilles'*] wife with

much cordiality administered to our comfort during a week's tarry in their hospitable dwelling. . . . Mrs. C. is a half breed Ojibwa, and feels much interest in the spiritual welfare of the Indians. Her public station is favorable for her to exert much influence over the females." And again in July Ayer writes that she "was educated at Mackinaw school and is a member of the church."

In 1843 the record of certain white women in wilderness homes in the Minnesota interior begins. Again it is missionaries and their wives that have left the most detailed accounts of pioneer women. To Leech Lake and its neighboring lakes, Red, Cass, and Winnebagoshish, was sent a band of missionaries from Oberlin, Ohio. One of these, the wife of Dr. William Lewis, wrote many letters describing conditions as she found them. Several of these letters and a few of her coworker's, Mrs. Frederick Ayer, have been preserved.

In the spring of 1844 Mrs. Lewis took the long canoe journey from La Pointe to Leech Lake, where her husband had spent the winter. Her description of the journey is a succession of interesting pictures like the following:

We left La Pointe Tuesday May 7th in a bark canoe about 20 feet long. . . . Encamping is one of the beauties of *voyageing* as traveling is termed here. When a spot is selected with reference to smoothness and dryness the tent is presently set up and a blazing fire kindled before it. No scruples are had in cutting down the goodly cedars & firs & stripping off the boughs to form a bed or carpet over which an oil cloth is spread. This is our table also on which we spread a cloth & set our plates & cups, around which we sit in turkish fashion. I sometimes used my carpet bag for a seat. When our beds were unrolled & I had suspended my curtain I slept soundly as a queen in her palace.

When she reached the site of modern Duluth a novel and disagreeable experience was in store for her. A modern woman would hardly be shocked at the substitute for a gang-plank that was universally employed when passengers (practically always fur merchants or male sightseers) were carried. To early Victorian women, however, travel *à la* pickaback savored of frivolity, if not of immorality. Mrs. Lewis thus

describes her feelings: "When we came to a good place [to disembark] the waves were so high that it was unsaf[e] to run the canoe ashore but one or two men held it with their oars while two others jumped into the water & began to unload as fast as possible. One offered me his back to take me ashore. Though my feelings revolted there was no alternative & I was soon safely landed."

Portaging was new to Mrs. Lewis, and she describes in detail the customs of the *voyageurs*, who acted as beasts of burden and adhered to almost inflexible rules made by earlier *voyageurs* in conveying canoes and baggage over such carrying places. Of one of these places she writes: "My feet too for the first time were wet. I had jumped over many a mud hole & walked many a tamarack pole but not till I came near to the end of the last portage did I get over the tops of my india rubbers. I found them excellent with moccasins over them to protect them from being torn by rocks & stones. A deceitful bog gave way & I sank down." It was with some difficulty that one of Mrs. Lewis' traveling companions helped her free herself. She also relates that her "bed was sometimes quite wet by water getting into the canoe."

Mrs. Lewis' most enlightening letter, written on December 17, 1844, contains two pencil sketches of her log house on Leech Lake, a plan of the interior, and a description of her *menage*. Probably these pencil sketches are the first contemporary pictures of a home on Minnesota soil. They show a one-story, log house with two chimneys and two "shed" additions with sloping roofs. An upturned canoe on the beach adds a vivid touch.

The plan shows a ground floor of two rooms, the kitchen and the combined bedroom and "sitting room." Apparently most of the beds were stationary but "Br. J[ohnson]'s on account of its great length & Br Spencer's because in the kitchen are made to turn up in the day time. The lines extending from the beds are curtains which constitute the only partition we have as yet between the bedrooms. It is designed to have one between the two doors . . . extending as near to

. . . the fireplace as consistent with safety & convenience." Corners for books are shown on the diagram and "Br J. has shelves suspended by cords. In our corner is a small medicine cupboard with three shelves extending from it over the window for books. The floor is carpeted walls lined with rush mats and with our trunks, two chairs & some stools, presents quite a comfortable aspect when we are all seated round a fire of pine notts, by the light of which Sister J[ohnson] & myself sew, while someone usually reads aloud. Br Spencer usually performs this office. Is reading Bancroft's history of the United States which is very interesting."

In the kitchen were "the stove, the most important article . . . the cupboard for dishes & cooked food, of which we do not however keep much on hand . . . a couple of shelves for water pails kettles &c," a wood box in one corner, "a ladder which swings up & is fastened to the chamber floor by a hook," and "a trap door to the cellar. Our table stands when not in use, during the day, before the window at the end of the cupboard, and at night when it would interfere with the bed before it."

Later in the letter she describes how the women of the mission shared in the household duties:

I thought you might like to hear a little of our domestic arrangements & how our time is occupied. Well to be brief as possible Sister J. & myself divide the work into forenoon & afternoon & alternate a week at each. We are obliged to be in the kitchen one of us nearly if not quite all of the day time. We get some time to sew in it, sometimes besides teaching the children & reading to them & others who come in. We rise early & usually have our breakfast out of the way before any company comes in. This consists almost always of boiled fish, & rice boiled the day before warmed in the stove oven. Our stove is a great convenience. We have fish boiled baked or S[teamed] & wheat or corn bread or boiled pudding for dinner, with occasionally the variety of a mess of beans or rabbits. We think we cannot afford to eat wheat & corn on the same day as neither are plenty here. Our suppers are rice with milk & sugar, with fruit two or three times a week. We have some milk for breakfast. We use butter very seldom. . . . As we have good appetites we can eat bread without butter & fish without bread.

She goes on to mention that she liked "to be tidy occasionally & the winds here make rude work with hair I am wearing my black cap this winter. We find attention to appearance as important here as anywhere."

One of Mrs. Lewis' charges also believed in paying attention to her personal appearance, though not in a way sanctioned by the pious woman: "I have been tried with my [half-breed] girl Lucy somewhat. She had improved . . . much during my absence, particularly in reading & speaking english but I found that vanity had taken possession of her mind. She is rather pretty looking & desire to increase her beauty had led her to use various substances as paint, not the vermillion with which the Indian girls thickly smear their faces but a delicate tinge that would do credit to the art of a city belle."

In this rude house several children were born to the mission families. Association with the Indian and half-breed children caused moments of anxiety for the parents, but the little folk seem to have had a happy childhood despite their frequent quarrels. They learned to speak both English and Ojibway and probably a smattering of the *patois* used by the French-Canadian *voyageurs*. Most of them had left the wilderness before the missions were abandoned in 1859. In a recent letter from one of them, Dr. and Mrs. Lewis' eldest daughter, mention is made of the little log house.

These descriptions of a few of the women that Minnesota and Wisconsin claim as pioneers may serve to show that the homes of the wilderness in the thirties and forties were not devoid of charm and interest. The experiences of a few women like those mentioned illustrate very well the customary life in the rude structures that stood on the shores of many a river and lake. The names of most are unknown, but they ate the same food, saw the same pageant of savage life, and traveled the same waterways in the same manner as Hester Boutwell, Catherine Ely, and Lucy Lewis.

GRACE LEE NUTE

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT ST. CLOUD AND WILLMAR

Five years ago the Minnesota Historical Society inaugurated a series of annual state historical conventions preceded by "historic tours," and in successive years meetings have been held in Duluth, Redwood Falls, Detroit Lakes, Winona, and Mankato. The results amply justify the prediction made after the first convention that these excursions into the state and into its past not only would prove an important factor in the dissemination of information about Minnesota history, but also would encourage local history organization. They have helped to impress upon the people of the state the many-sided interest and the present-day meaning of its past. They have led to the organization of several county historical societies. They have secured the participation of large numbers of people. They have produced historical papers and addresses of permanent value, many of which have been published.

The sixth of these conventions was held on June 16 and 17, 1927, with sessions on the first day at St. Cloud, Stearns County, and on the second at Willmar, Kandiyohi County. The tour began on the morning of June 16 with an automobile trip from St. Paul to St. Cloud, and was continued on the following morning to Willmar. Five years ago some fifteen persons started off on the first of these Minnesota "historic tours." This year a road leviathan — a huge automobile bus — followed by twelve automobiles left the Twin Cities, and the party as a whole numbered more than sixty.¹

The route followed was by way of Anoka. Here the Rum River, which Father Hennepin descended nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, empties into the Mississippi. Past this point ran one of the old Red River trails, along which, three-

¹ Banners for all the cars were courteously supplied by the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs.

quarters of a century ago, lumbered the creaking carts from the Red River settlements. The tourists were met at Anoka by a few interested citizens and conducted to a place some miles west of the town, where a brief stop was made. From the highway this appeared to be merely a picturesque meadow, but upon closer examination it proved to be the site of a series of earthworks, including trenches and rifle pits, dug probably by the Winnebago in 1848, in anticipation of hostilities with the Chippewa. Passing on into Sherburne County, the tourists went through the village of Elk River, a name reminiscent of the wilderness days when Pike and other travelers found herds of elk in this vicinity. The modern metamorphosis of the region was strikingly illustrated here and all along the route — perhaps nowhere more so than at the St. Cloud Country Club, with its imposing building and attractive golf course. Here tourists were entertained at luncheon by the St. Cloud Reading Room Society, and here, as an after-dinner program, the first session of the convention, a local history conference with about one hundred and fifty persons present, was held.

The toastmaster, Mr. William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud, was introduced by Mrs. Fred Schilplin, the chairman of the efficient committee on local arrangements. Mr. Mitchell first called upon Mayor J. Arthur Bensen, who cordially welcomed the visitors to St. Cloud, called attention to the progressive development of St. Cloud and Stearns County, and expressed his warm interest in the work of the state society in gathering and permanently preserving Minnesota's records. Responding to this address Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, said that one of the purposes of the convention was to bring before the people of the state knowledge of the purposes and resources of the Minnesota Historical Society, to stimulate their interest, and secure their help. He declared that it is the business of history to call attention not merely to the positive achievements of the past but also to its mistakes. At the same time he pointed out that Minnesota had a large quota of very able men among the

builders of the commonwealth — men like Sibley, Ramsey, Rice, and Hill. For such a community as St. Cloud there were leaders whose services locally were comparable with those of the state builders, he said, and he paid tribute to a number of prominent leaders in the history of the city. St. Cloud, he said, "was not built by chance but by intelligence, coöperation, hard work, courage, and sound judgment." He closed by proposing a toast to Mr. Mitchell.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, then opened a general discussion of "The Possibilities of Local History Work in Minnesota." He pointed out that history serves the community in the same way that memory does the individual; that the characteristics of the community are determined wholly by its past; and that only through a knowledge of that past is it possible to understand the present and plan wisely for the future. He likened life to a motion picture and suggested the plight of a person who enters the theater after the picture has started. He sees only a small segment of it and needs some sort of synopsis of what has gone before in order to understand it properly. History does more than furnish such a synopsis, however, and the speaker stressed the added richness of life that comes to the individual from a knowledge of the history of his environment and the added charm of the community that is interested in and preserves the record of its past. He also called attention to the direct commercial value of the cultivation of local history, in attracting tourists, for example, and said that this value is successfully capitalized in Europe and in the East. A survey made about ten years ago disclosed the fact that, though there were a number of pioneer and old settlers' associations in the state, there did not appear to be a single local historical society actively functioning as such. The situation has been much improved since then. All told there are at present nine county historical societies in the state: Becker, Blue Earth, Cook, Lake, Olmsted, Ramsey, Rice, Roseau, and St. Louis. Three others, Aitkin, Crow Wing, and Otter Tail, have organizations

planned; in five or six more local historical work of value is being done through museums connected with high schools or libraries; and occasionally, as in Kandiyohi, old settlers' associations are functioning to some extent as historical societies. The speaker pointed out that this local history movement is of comparatively recent origin and has been fostered by the state historical society. In 1921 annual conferences on local history work were started in connection with the meetings of the state society, and in 1922 the society issued a model constitution for a county historical society. In the same year the practice of holding summer historical conventions in various parts of the state was begun. The oldest and most active of the new crop of local societies is that of St. Louis County, which was organized at the time of the summer convention in Duluth in 1922. "Under the leadership of Mr. William E. Culkin it has become a factor of importance in the community, with a large and interested membership, frequent meetings, offices in the court house, a growing collection of manuscripts, and financial support from the county."

Dr. Buck suggested three requisites for successful local history work: (1) some one person willing to shoulder the responsibility of keeping the work going; (2) a continuous program of constructive work for the county society, with preservation of records, publication of historical material, and marking of historic sites and trails included; and (3) coöperation with the state society.

In the discussion that followed this talk the Reverend Charles Grunenwald of St. Cloud spoke of the spirit of the pioneers. They were all beginners, he said. They had to help each other; they knew each other well; and they were not intolerant. Material prosperity, he suggested, tends to make people selfish and to create diverse interests and as a result there develops a lack of tolerance and coöperation. It is therefore the more important to know what our forbears did to build the community, for such knowledge will cause us to give credit to the agencies that have made the community great and good.

It will stimulate mutual respect and coöperation. Because the study of the past can thus be made to serve the present, the speaker favored very strongly the local organization of historical work.

The next talk, by Dr. J. A. DuBois of Sauk Center, was devoted to a presentation of "the other side of Main Street." The Main streets of the country are the natural soil "necessary to produce even a start on civilization," he said.

Mr. William Sartell of Sartell then read an interesting paper telling of the pioneer experiences of his father and mother, who took a homestead in 1854 near Watab, "a stopping place for stages and the busiest place north of St. Anthony, except possibly Sauk Rapids." Mr. Sartell's father once "carried a sack of flour eight miles on his back to keep hunger from the door." On one occasion he wheeled an injured son twelve miles on a wheelbarrow to St. Cloud. These and many other incidents were related by Mr. Sartell to illustrate the difficulties that pioneers met with on the early Minnesota frontier. This colorful paper brought the luncheon program to an end.

The visitors then joined the Stearns County people in motor-ing to the athletic field of the State Teachers College at St. Cloud to view the unveiling of a marker on the site of a stockade built in 1862 during the Sioux War in anticipation of an Indian attack. This marker consisted of a large boulder with an attached bronze tablet bearing the inscription "1862-1927. Site of Stockade Established during the Sioux Indian Uprising. Erected by the Saint Cloud Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution." The ceremonies were conducted by Mrs. Darius Stewart, regent of the chapter, and a brief talk was made by Mr. Mitchell, whose father, General H. C. Mitchell, had charge of the building of the stockade.

Following this ceremony the party proceeded to St. John's University at Collegeville, where it was greeted by the Right Reverend Alcuin Deutsch, abbot of St. John's Abbey, who conducted the visitors on a tour through the buildings and gave a brief informal account of the university and the abbey. On

the return trip brief stops were made at St. Benedict's College and the United States Veterans' Hospital. After this excursion, which was made in cars provided by the hospitable people of St. Cloud, an informal dinner was served at Grandmother's Tea Garden in St. Cloud.

An interesting feature of the St. Cloud convention was a series of historical exhibits collected by the St. Cloud chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and displayed in store windows, most of the articles on view being illustrations of pioneer household economy. Mention should also be made of a series of historical articles by Sister Grace McDonald of St. Benedict's College that appeared in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* before the convention. Thus on June 10, 11, and 13 there were accounts of famous visitors to the St. Cloud region in early days, including E. S. Seymour in 1849, Father Demetrius Marogna in 1856, C. C. Andrews in 1858, Carl Schurz in 1859, Bishop Grace of St. Paul in 1861, and others.

An audience of about 225 assembled for the evening session, held in the auditorium of the State Teachers College at 8:00 P.M., with Mr. Ingersoll presiding. An important paper — which is brought before a wider audience in the present number of the magazine — was read by Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota on "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota." He also exhibited a number of slides as a supplement to his paper. A motion picture entitled "The Chronicle of Time: The Story of Stearns County, Its History and Industry" was then presented through the courtesy of the *St. Cloud Daily Times*. Red River carts and covered wagons brought one phase of the history of the region vividly before the audience, and pictures of early St. Cloud newspapers another. The emphasis in the film, however, was chiefly upon the present-day industries of the county.

Before adjournment a special committee consisting of Mr. Harold Harris, Mrs. Theodore C. Blegen, and Dr. Grace Lee Nute, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted by unanimous vote:

It has been the good fortune of the visiting members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society to be the guests of the city of St. Cloud on the first day of the sixth annual State Historical Convention and to be entertained with a hospitality that has made the day one that will long be remembered by all who have shared in these pleasures and privileges.

Be it therefore resolved that their deep gratitude and sincere appreciation be hereby extended:

To Mrs. Fred Schilplin and the committee on local arrangements, who have so thoughtfully planned the day's program.

To the St. Cloud Reading Room Society for the exquisite luncheon at the St. Cloud Country Club.

To St. John's University and to St. Benedict's College for the many courtesies extended to us.

To the St. Cloud Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the splendid exhibit of historical articles displayed in the store windows of the city.

To those who have furnished cars and have so generously given of their time to make our stay in St. Cloud a memorable one, and

To the city newspapers for the very generous publicity given to the activities of the Society.

The plans for the second day of the tour and convention had been worked out in detail by a Kandiyohi County committee headed by Senator Victor E. Lawson of Willmar, and evidences of its effective work became apparent soon after the "historic tour" was resumed on Friday morning, June 17. The first stop made after leaving St. Cloud was at Paynesville at 10:00 A.M. The streets of this village were lined with waiting cars from Willmar, New London, Spicer, and other places in Kandiyohi County. At Paynesville, as at St. Cloud, the Indian uprising of 1862 resulted in the building of a stockade or fort. Mr. Frank P. Van Vorst, a local resident, directed the visitors to the site of this fort and then related briefly the circumstances of its origin. This place was closer to the scene of action than St. Cloud, for here a small group of pioneer farmers were attacked and besieged by a party of hostile Sioux, whereas the St. Cloud stockade was never brought into active use.

As soon as Mr. Van Vorst had concluded his account of this episode, a bugler of the American Legion drum and bugle corps

of Willmar "sounded off" the departure, the cars — now numbering about eighty — were formed in line, and the cavalcade started on its way to Sibley State Park. At Paynesville representatives of the local committee distributed copies of a special "program and itinerary" for the day's events, with brief historical notes about the points of interest along the route to Willmar. On the roadside were twenty-five special markers locating these places. For example, the boundary of Kandiyohi County occasioned such a marker, and in the program was a note explaining that the name means "where to go fishing," that formerly this region was part of Monongalia County, and that a colony of Virginians came to Green Lake in 1856 and 1857 from Monongalia County, Virginia. Similar markers and notes also called attention to the meanings of township names, first happenings of various sorts, school-houses, the sites of old mills, the early history of villages, the scenes of tragic happenings during the Sioux Outbreak, and the farm of Paul Willmar, a soldier of fortune who fought under Maximilian in Mexico and for whom the city of Willmar is named.

At Sibley State Park a visit was made to Mount Tom, a high point commanding a panoramic view of sixteen surrounding lakes. Here Mr. E. F. Fink of New London gave a sketch of the history of the park and called attention to the attractions of the region. At New London, where the next stop was made, Mr. Harold Swenson, a pioneer merchant, told of the beginnings of the community. The founder was Louis Larson, a trapper, who in the early sixties developed a project for utilizing the available water power for a sawmill. The place might appropriately have been called New New London, for it was named not for the English metropolis but for New London, Wisconsin, a village in Larson's home county. After leaving New London the tour passed a churchyard where stands a state monument erected in memory of the thirteen whites massacred by the Sioux at West Lake in 1862. The cars then proceeded to the shores of Green Lake, and a brief stop was made at

Interlachen Lodge. Here Mrs. Mathilda Larson, whose father was a boat builder for the Hudson's Bay Company, gave a brief account of her early experiences. She was introduced by Senator Lawson as the first graduate of the St. Cloud Normal School and an early school teacher. Mrs. Larson displayed several cases of arrow points and stone implements, most of which were picked up on the shores of Green Lake.

The line of cars then wound around the west shore of this incomparable lake, passed through the village of Spicer, and halted at the Green Lake Country Club, where the visitors were entertained at luncheon by the Willmar Commercial Club. About 275 people attended this luncheon and heard the program that followed it. With Mr. A. J. Anderson, president of the business men's club of Spicer, presiding, talks were given by Mr. Peter Henderson and Mrs. T. M. Findley, and response was made on behalf of the society by Mr. William E. Culkin of Duluth. Thereupon nearly a hundred cars were formed in line and started on the final portion of the tour to Willmar. As the procession entered the city it was met by the gaily uniformed American Legion drum and bugle corps, which maneuvered, drummed, and bugled the tour through Willmar to the Kandiyohi County Fair Grounds.

Drawing up near the new Pioneer Memorial Cabin erected by the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association, the drummers and buglers gave a formal salute; two Winnebago Indian girls then unfurled and raised the flag above the cabin; and the audience sang "America." After these preliminaries, those who were present — numbering at least fifteen hundred — went to the fair grounds auditorium to attend a joint session of the society and the old settlers' association. Senator Lawson presided at this meeting and first introduced Mr. D. T. Carlson, president of the Willmar Commercial Club, who extended a welcome to the two organizations on behalf of the citizens of Willmar. He paid a tribute to the work that the state society is doing in arousing interest in state and local history and preserving the records of the past. Mr. Harold

Harris of St. Paul, a member of the society's executive council, expressed the pleasure of the visitors in the interesting tour and cordial reception they had had in Kandiyohi County; and Judge A. O. Forsberg spoke for the old settlers, calling special attention to the fact that membership in their association is open to all who have lived in the county for thirty years.

The principal address of the session was delivered by Mr. Ray P. Chase, the state auditor, on "State Parks and Memorials and State History." After enumerating the chief resources of Minnesota, he asserted that the tourist industry was destined to rank third in importance in the state. He stressed the influence of climate, scenery, good roads, and parks in attracting tourists; and he urged that the system of state parks should be put in charge of an expert "park man." Such an official, he said, should be given the necessary funds with which to develop the parks properly; and the people of the state should compel the legislature to appropriate money for this purpose.

The next speaker was Mr. Samuel Miller, a full-blood Stockbridge Indian, who eloquently pleaded for recognition of his race, particularly in the matter of full American citizenship. Other numbers on the program were songs by the Willmar Quartet and by the two Winnebago girls.

After this session the audience went to the handsome Memorial Cabin, in front of which formal dedicatory exercises were held. The dedication address was given by Mr. Gabriel Stene, the president of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association. He sketched the history of the effort that resulted in the erection of this appropriate memorial, and announced its dedication to the memory of the pioneers, their brave and patient wives, their children, the victims of the struggles between whites and natives, the early school teachers, and the unselfish pioneer ministers.²

² This dedicatory address is published in full in the *Willmar Tribune* for June 29, 1927.

Dr. Buck then spoke on the preservation of local history, with special attention to the situation in Kandiyohi County. Though for most counties of the state he has advocated the establishment of county historical societies, he said that he had not committed himself to any inflexible plan. He expressed the view that the vigor and activity of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association made a new organization in this county unnecessary. That association had already done two notable things — erected the cabin just dedicated and given the encouragement that made possible the publication twenty-three years ago of an excellent history of the county, perhaps the most effective memorial possible to the pioneers. Dr. Buck suggested the possibility of the association widening its membership still further so that young people would join in forwarding the work, and he also referred to numerous possibilities in the cultivation of the county's history that the association might exploit. After this talk some verses written in Swedish by Mr. N. S. Swenson were read by Mr. Stene, the audience sang "Auld Lang Syne," and the meeting adjourned. Some of the visitors then took advantage of the opportunity to view the special historical exhibits on display in the Willmar store windows, a feature planned by the local committee.

The convention was brought to a pleasant close with a banquet attended by about 250 persons at the Bethel Lutheran Church. During the meal the Willmar Orchestra furnished excellent music. The Reverend J. J. Daniels of Willmar offered the invocation. A program of papers and addresses followed the dinner, with Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, acting as toastmaster.

The first speaker was Senator Lawson, whose theme was "The Historical Backgrounds of Willmar and Vicinity." He said that it was not his intention to relate the history of the county, but to point out some of the things that give it individuality, differentiating it from other counties in the state. The population of the county, for example, is of Scandinavian

extraction, in contrast with that of its neighbor, Stearns County, which is mainly German. In fact, Mr. Lawson asserted, Kandiyohi County is a miniature of the Scandinavian countries. Thus the county has a Swedish Värmland settlement of large proportions, a Dalecarlia, a Scanian section, a Småland, a Hälsingland, and a Vestergötland; and the old home localities of the Norwegians are reflected in the names of their churches, such as Vinje, Vikör, Nordland, Trömsö, and Gausdal. Speaking of settlement in general, Mr. Lawson first sketched the story of the town-site promoters, who hoped to profit by the building of the proposed St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. The coming of genuine settlers is a tale in two parts, for the Sioux War caused a general exodus, and the permanent settlement of the region developed later under the Homestead Act. "The building of the railroad in the fall of 1869 put Willmar on the map," and another important epoch in the history of the town followed the coming of the St. Cloud and Willmar and the Willmar and Sioux Falls lines in 1886. An interesting historical feature of the county was the location within its borders of the ten sections of state land granted Minnesota for state building purposes, commonly known as the State Capitol Lands. Chosen by a commission appointed by Governor Sibley in 1858, these lands continued for many years to be a source of legislative agitation, the speaker said. In 1869 a bill to relocate the capital in Kandiyohi County passed both the House and the Senate by large majorities but was vetoed by Governor Marshall. Later attempts made less headway, but for many years no Kandiyohi County senator or representative felt that he could neglect to bring in some sort of bill for the utilization of these lands. Finally, after all hope of moving the capital had vanished, the lands were sold to farmers.

"Some Characteristics of the Scandinavian-Americans" was the subject chosen by the next speaker, Dr. George M. Stephenson, assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota. He first touched on the rapid assimilation of the

Scandinavian-Americans, which he said is explained by many factors, especially the political training received in their homelands, their high degree of literacy, the similarity of their languages to English, and their love of liberty. The Scandinavian-Americans, he said, are intensely individualistic. This characteristic reveals itself in politics, for there is little nationalistic coherency in their political activity; and in religion it takes the form of independence toward the churches of the homelands. Sectarianism showed itself in the earliest Scandinavian settlements in this country; and the laymen showed a disposition to take an active part in the affairs of the church.

Dr. Stephenson asserted that the Scandinavian-Americans respond readily to leadership and are apt to be hero-worshippers. They tend to follow the lead of the Americans in politics. He confirmed a common impression when he pointed out that perhaps no immigrant stock yields so easily to the influence of environment as the Scandinavian-American. Sometimes this tendency assumes the form of self-depreciation and an over-emphasis upon names and customs that are foreign to them. In letters to friends and relatives abroad, immigrants frequently compare America and the Scandinavian countries, almost invariably to the detriment of the latter. As a matter of course the children of the Scandinavian immigrants quickly imbibe this spirit and want to be Americans in all respects. The Scandinavian immigrant combines a rather intense religious nature with a tendency toward independence, but he is seldom skeptical in the sense that German immigrants are. And though the Scandinavian immigrants frequently have left the church of their fathers, Lutheranism has placed a distinct stamp upon them. "The influence of Luther's catechism in inculcating respect for authority, deference to those in the service of the state, and honesty in dealing with one's fellow-men followed the Scandinavian to the end of his days." The pioneering instinct of the Scandinavian immigrants brought them into the West, where hardihood, industry, patience, and

thrift soon converted their farms into models. The spirit of these pioneers, the speaker said in conclusion, is typified in such men as Ole Paulson, a Norwegian minister in Minnesota, and Erik Norelius, the energetic and self-sacrificing Swedish minister.

Professor Hugh Graham of the College of St. Teresa at Winona, who spoke next, took as his subject "Minnesota's Pioneer Schools." He began by describing the situation at Fort Snelling in the twenties. A visitor to the fort in 1820, he reported, tells of the women of the post teaching their children and learning French from a soldier who had served as an officer under Napoleon. In 1823 John Marsh was employed as a tutor at an annual salary of seventy-five dollars, which he supplemented to the extent of forty dollars by carrying the mail between the fort and Prairie du Chien. The post school was apparently more definitely organized soon after the appointment in 1838 of a regular chaplain. In 1843 the chaplain taught daily from seven to twelve o'clock and had a dozen pupils. For more than two decades, beginning in the early thirties, various missionaries were at work among the Chippewa and Sioux Indians. Of the Protestant missionaries, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were the first on the ground; then came the Methodists, followed soon after by the Episcopalians. Three centers of Catholic activity were at Pembina, now part of North Dakota, but formerly in Minnesota Territory; in the northeastern part of the state; and at Traverse des Sioux and Chaska. The speaker ascribed to Frederick Ayer the credit for being the first teacher of a mission school within the limits of the state of Minnesota. Ayer's school was opened in 1832 at Sandy Lake in the house of William A. Aitkin, the fur-trader. William T. Boutwell taught a school at Leech Lake in 1833 and Edmund F. Ely opened one at Fond du Lac in 1834. Stephen R. Riggs, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, and Samuel and Gideon Pond were well-known missionary teachers among the Sioux. Not so well known is

the Catholic missionary Father Pirec or Pierz, who established at Grand Portage in 1838 the first Catholic school in Minnesota.

The speaker told of the many-sided activity of these missionaries, who journeyed on foot or by canoe, who handled sickle and flail in teaching the Indians how to farm, who coped with the Indian language, and who taught the Indian children, in addition to performing their regular religious duties. Many difficulties were encountered, but the worst was the persistence with which the bootleggers of that period catered to the Indian's appetite for *minnewaka*. The federal census for 1850 makes reference to only one academy or boarding school in Minnesota. This school was in Benton County, had an enrollment of five boys and seven girls, and was taught by one teacher. Professor Graham identified this institution with a pioneer academy established by Ayer at Belle Prairie in Morrison County in 1849. It was intended for the more promising children of the Indian country, but in the course of time it became more white than Indian. The speaker called attention to the fact that Harriet Bishop was sent to Minnesota by the board of the National Popular Education Society, which was organized in New England in 1846 with the object of supplying the new settlements of the West with competent women teachers. "Miss Scofield, another St. Paul teacher, was sent by this Board, as was Miss Backus, who opened a school in St. Anthony in 1849. Mr. Hobart taught the first boys' school in St. Paul, using the Methodist Church as a schoolroom. The Sisters of St. Joseph arrived in St. Paul in 1851 and opened their first school in the vestry of the old log chapel from which the city obtained its name. Other settlements had also their pioneer schools, as for example Stillwater in 1848 and Point Douglas in 1850." Professor Graham referred to the territorial act of 1849 which established the public school system and he spoke in conclusion of the generous policy of the territorial legislature in granting charters to universities, academies, and seminaries. Though thirty-one such charters were

granted, he has been able to trace actual records of only four; the University Preparatory School (1851-53); Baldwin School, established in 1853; Hamline University, which opened its doors at Red Wing in 1854; and St. John's Seminary or College, established near St. Cloud in 1857. The Winona Normal School, which began its work in 1858, "has the distinction of being the first state normal school established west of the Mississippi."³

The convention program came to an end with an illustrated address entitled "The Pioneer Trek Across Minnesota" by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum for the Minnesota Historical Society. An interesting series of slides based upon pictures in the possession of the society brought before the audience in vivid fashion the changes in modes of transportation that accompanied the westward march of the pioneer. Mr. Babcock first discussed the importance of navigation in the early history of the upper Northwest and told of the expedition of Lieutenant Pike, in 1805. Eighteen years later a steamboat ascended the river to the newly established Fort Snelling, and a new era in the history of transportation in the Northwest was begun. The *voyageur's* canoe continued to be used on the smaller streams long after the newer forms of transportation developed, but steamboat pilots proved venturesome, and in the late fifties even the Red River Valley echoed to the puffing of the steamboat as the "Anson Northup," after having been hauled overland from Crow Wing, began operations. Meanwhile the picturesque Red River cart traffic grew to considerable dimensions before speedier traffic caused its decline. Mr. Babcock showed a number of slides illustrating the cart traffic, and then turned his attention to the rise of the stagecoach and the railroad. He spoke of the great railroad excursion of 1854, when the Chicago and Rock Island Railway celebrated the completion of its line from Chicago to the Mississippi River by sponsoring an excursion of some twelve hun-

³ Mr. Graham's address is published in part in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for June 17.

dred people on five river packets to St. Paul. The advance of railroad construction in Minnesota was signalized by the completion in 1862 of a line between St. Paul and St. Anthony, and after the Civil War it proceeded rapidly until in the seventies the settlers on the western edge of the state were at last connected by rail with the eastern markets.

After the conclusion of this address, the committee on resolutions presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

The Minnesota Historical Society has been the fortunate guest today of the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association and the Willmar Commercial Club and has enjoyed a hospitality that will long remain a cherished memory.

Be it resolved, therefore, that the Minnesota Historical Society extend its heartfelt thanks to these organizations and others assisting them for the tour through the county so happily and carefully planned, for the receptions in the several towns along the way, for the speeches and songs, for the opportunity to visit Interlachen Lodge and to see that beautiful vista across Green Lake, for a delicious lunch at that lake, for the spirited greeting by a drum and bugle corps at the entrance to Willmar, for a carefully planned program, including the participation of three "native Americans," for a repast that left nothing to be desired and that was eaten to the strains of a splendid orchestra, to the people of Willmar who have opened their homes to entertain these guests, and to Mr. Victor Lawson and the committee on local arrangements to whom is due in no slight degree the success of the activities of the day.

It must be obvious to every reader of this report that this state historical convention was a marked success judged not only by the numbers of people participating in it but also by the quality of the papers and discussions and by the popular interest aroused. To the local committees the matter at issue was not merely a convention to be promoted for the sake of civic pride. It was an opportunity to bring before their communities and the whole state a part of the history of Minnesota. And this involved something more than the interest of a fascinating story. It meant an approach to an understanding of forces that lie back of and help to explain present-day conditions. In other words, the tour and convention have achieved,

to some extent at least, the purpose for which they are designed, that of bringing home to the people of the state both the interest and the significance of the history of Minnesota and of the communities that make up the commonwealth. As in other years widespread publicity carried the story of the convention to every part of the state. And already interest in the seventh convention, to be held in the summer of 1928, is being shown, for one city in southern Minnesota, another in the southwestern part of the state, and still another in the northeast have made preliminary inquiries looking toward the possibility of entertaining the convention.

T. C. B.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

FLOODS ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI AND ITS TRIBUTARIES

The Lake States Forest Experiment Station is making an investigation for the United States government of forest conditions on the upper sources of the Mississippi River in relation to the recent floods. Do you have any material which would indicate the prevalence of floods on the Mississippi in early times and whether flood conditions existed on the upper tributaries of that river in the Lake states in the past?

RAPHAEL ZON, director, St. Paul.

A good general survey of floods on the Mississippi River appears in E. W. Gould's *Fifty Years on the Mississippi*, 245-268 (St. Louis, 1889). This author describes briefly some of the early floods that explorers tell about, and in more recent times he reports on severe floods in 1844, 1854, 1858, 1867, 1871, 1874, 1881, and 1882. An examination of Minnesota newspapers for the years after 1849 would reveal to what extent these floods damaged the region of the upper river.

An example of an early flood on the upper Mississippi is given by Father Guignas, who tells how the inhabitants of Fort Beauharnois on Lake Pepin were driven from their cabins in the spring of 1728 (see *ante*, 6: 367).

Major Samuel Woods and Captain John Pope, who traveled from Fort Snelling northwestward to the Red River in 1849, describe the flooded Minnesota prairies of that year in their reports published in 31 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 42, and *House Executive Documents*, no. 51 (serials 558 and 577).

There is good material on the Minnesota River flood of 1862 in George B. Merrick's *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1909). In this year "there was a nineteen-foot rise in the river," and the stream "did not follow the regular channel, but cut right across bends and points, so that most of

the time the current was setting squarely across the river." Hiram M. Chittenden's *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (New York, 1903) has some references to the effect of the Missouri on high water at St. Louis.

The value of newspaper material was tested by taking the *Daily Pioneer Press* of St. Paul and Minneapolis for the spring months of 1881 as a sample. Practically every issue from the middle of April to the middle of May was found to contain valuable material. About April 13 reports of serious flood conditions along the Missouri and its tributaries in the Dakotas began to appear. From day to day the flood moved eastward; the situation in Iowa became serious; and then towns in the Minnesota River Valley reported dangerously high water. On April 25 the *Pioneer Press* announced in its headlines that the flood was "Getting too Near Home" and that the "center of interest in the flood situation [was] suddenly transferred to our own state." How suddenly the waters came is indicated by tables giving the "record of the rise" at St. Paul, published from day to day in the *Pioneer Press*. From a depth of five feet six inches on April 16 the Mississippi rose to nineteen feet six and a half inches on April 30. The waters then began to recede, and by 2:00 A.M. of the following day they had dropped six inches. During all this time the Mississippi north of St. Paul was not unusually high, and as the waters rose at St. Paul they receded along the Minnesota. Again, as conditions at St. Paul improved, they grew worse farther and farther south along the Mississippi, according to the daily newspaper reports.

An article based upon interviews with pioneers apropos of earlier floods at St. Paul appears in the *Pioneer Press* of April 27, 1881. The writer reports that the old settlers consulted were not certain about the dates of earlier floods and that no official records of the stages of water during these floods had been kept. A. L. Larpenteur told the reporter that in 1852 the first floor of his warehouse on the levee at Jackson Street was under water and that a steamboat ran up "against the second

story window in the rear of the warehouse through which her freight was discharged." Charles F. Miller recalled that in 1858 "steamboats which intended to go up to Mendota could not pass the river bridge on account of the high water, their smoke-stacks and jack-staffs being above the floor of the bridge." The writer records that "In conversations with old settlers mention was made of extreme high water in 1851, 1852, 1858, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1867 and 1870, and recollections were given of the flat in West St. Paul having been flooded several times so completely that the residents had to leave."

B. L. H.

THE ICELANDIC AND BELGIAN SETTLEMENTS IN LYON COUNTY

I am preparing a paper for the department of geography on the Icelandic and Belgian settlements in the vicinity of Minneota and Ghent. What materials do you have concerning these people or the Minneota-Ghent section of Lyon County?

L. E. S., Moorhead State Teachers College

A good account of the "Catholic Colony of Ghent" appears in C. F. Case, *History and Description of Lyon County*, 51-54 (Marshall, 1884). The Belgian colony also receives considerable attention in Arthur P. Rose, *Illustrated History of Lyon County*, 211-215 (Marshall, 1912). Of special interest is the material on the Catholic church organized in this colony in 1883. The names of all the original members are given, and this list probably includes the entire Belgian population at the time. As you probably know, this colony was one of Archbishop Ireland's projects.

The Icelandic settlement at Minneota is described in an article entitled "Icelandic Communities in America: Cultural Backgrounds and Early Settlements," by Thorstina Jackson, in the *Journal of Social Forces*, 3: 684 (May, 1925). According to this author the first Iclander, Gunnlaugur Petursson, settled near Minneota in July, 1875. "At present," she writes, "there

are about 1,000 first and second generation Icelanders in this community." Rose, on page 88 of his *History of Lyon County*, relates that fifty colonists direct from Iceland followed Petursson in 1877. He refers to an article in the *Marshall News-Messenger* for May 24, 1904. Evidently a good deal of material on the Icelandic settlement is to be found in this paper, a file of which is in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. Another paper in this library which should contain material is *Vinland*, an Icelandic monthly published at Minnesota. The society's file covers the period from April, 1902, to February, 1908. A general survey of "Icelandic Pioneers in North America," by J. T. Thorson, is published in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota, 15: 126-134 (January, 1925).

Among the most valuable sources for the study of any settlement or racial group are the census schedules. The Minnesota Historical Society has in its possession manuscript census schedules which contain much information not found in the printed records. The population schedule for the 1885 state census is extremely useful for the colonies at Ghent and Minnesota. The schedule for the town of Grandview, Lyon County, gives the names and birthplaces of a large number of Belgians, as well as other information about individuals and families; the records for Eidsvold and a number of other townships show a large Icelandic element.

B. L. H.

MINNEHAHA FALLS AND LONGFELLOW'S "HIAWATHA"

I would appreciate knowing something of the history of Longfellow's "Hiawatha" in connection with Minnesota. Did Longfellow mention Minnehaha Falls in his poem?

E. L., Annandale

In the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society there is a letter written by an early daguerreotype artist, Alex Hesler of Chicago, to Russell Blakeley of St. Paul,

explaining how Longfellow came to write his poem "Hiawatha," in which he describes Minnehaha Falls.

Hesler made a tour of the region about St. Paul and Minneapolis in the summer of 1852 with another artist, Joel E. Whitney, making daguerreotype views of the scenes he passed. He went to Minnehaha Falls, he tells in the letter to Blakeley, and "prospected for the best view, and selected that from the upper side where the bluff makes a turn south, where, looking west you face the fall, with the gorge in the foreground. The fall in the middle — & the rapid with the Country beyond [in] the distance. here after cutting down two trees we had an unobstructed view and secured 25 or thirty pictures."

A few days after his return to Galena, where he was then in business, Hesler received a visit from George Sumner, a brother of Charles Sumner, who wished to see the pictures he had made. Hesler writes:

I gave him several: among them was one of Minnehaha that he admired above all the others. In January 1856, I received by mail a copy of Hiawatha on the fly Leaf of which was written

Mr A Hesler
with compliments
of the Author
Jany. 1856

The book was published late in 1855. Shortly after Mr Geo Sumner call[ed] at my studio then in Chicago and asked me if I had received a copy of Hiawatha from the Author I said I had — but could not see why he had sent it to me as I had no acquaintance with Mr Longfellow. I remarked that the Author must have seen the Fall to be able to describe it so perfectly. Mr. Sumner laughed and said "Longfellow never was there and never saw the falls. Do you remember the Daguerreotype you gave me at Galena?["] I said: ["] yes perfectly.["] ["] Well when I got home, being neighbors, I showed him the pictures you gave me and he selected Minnehaha, took it out in the woods with him and from it conceived the thought and poem of Hiawatha. And this is why he sent you the book — one of his first copies."

A. H. B.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782. By ALBERT T. VOLWILER. (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926. 370 p. Illustrations, maps.)

Near the conclusion of his volume, Professor Volwiler voices the opinion, not unusual among biographers, that the subject of his study is entitled to considerably more attention than he has received from historians, and in this instance the reviewer is in full agreement. The average person knows little or nothing of George Croghan, notwithstanding the fact that from 1741 until near the close of the Revolution he was one of the most significant figures associated with that phase of the westward movement which was taking place in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. His career during that period is in fact almost an epitome of the movement. After coming from Ireland to America in 1741, Croghan proceeded to the frontier of Pennsylvania, where he almost immediately entered the fur trade. His restless activity, which carried him deep into the country claimed by the French, was an important contributing factor in precipitating the final phase of the struggle between the English and French for supremacy in the West. He ceased to be so actively interested in the fur trade after about 1754, and for many years thereafter devoted himself largely to Indian affairs, at first in an effort to bring the struggle with the French to a successful conclusion. At the close of the war he made two important journeys to the Illinois country to prepare the way for British occupation. From 1756 until 1772 he served as deputy superintendent of Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson, with immediate supervision of the tribes in Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. Throughout his career Croghan was also interested in western lands, both as an individual speculator and as a promoter of land companies and colonizing projects. While his efforts resulted in failure, so far as his ultimate personal fortunes were concerned, they reflect the tendencies of the period. Croghan's importance is in part revealed

in his relations with certain of the most prominent persons in eighteenth-century America — men like George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Sir William Johnson, and General Gage, to name only a few.

Professor Volwiler's volume is a distinct contribution to the scientific study of the American frontier. He has carefully avoided the dangers of either narrowly local or biographical treatment. The emphasis of his interpretation is upon the westward movement rather than upon George Croghan, though the personality of his subject is by no means neglected. There are any number of illuminating generalizations with regard to such matters as the fur trade and land speculation, a type of contribution in which many monographs are sadly deficient. The arrangement is primarily topical rather than chronological and is well adapted to the general method of treatment. The author appears to have made exhaustive use of the material relating to his subject, both in published and manuscript form and it will probably be long before his work is superseded by any important discovery of new material.

It is refreshing to have this new evidence that the study of the westward movement is no longer being approached from a purely local viewpoint. One lays down the volume with a new impression of the unity of the frontier, both geographically and in point of time. Fortunately, the state historical societies of the Middle West have become the leading exponents of this new conception and are in many cases pooling their resources for a scientific study of the subject. Professor Volwiler has added much to our understanding of the westward movement in the Ohio Valley during the middle eighteenth century. Similar studies covering the regions to the northwest and southwest will be welcomed and will doubtless be forthcoming in due time. One method of approach might be through further biographical studies of similarly significant figures, studies which, like the present volume, shall emphasize the environment in which men lived and the significance of their contribution to the great movements of which they were a part.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

The Quebec Act: A Study in Statesmanship. By REGINALD COUPLAND, fellow of All Souls College, Beit professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1925. 224 p.)

Students of American history have a twofold interest in the Quebec Act. In the first place, by reason of its boundary provisions, it became the basic law for the vast region extending north and west from the Ohio River to the Mississippi, during the period from 1775, when it went into effect, until the close of the Revolution. In the second place, the circumstances which led to the passage of the measure, as well as its results, had a vital bearing upon the revolutionary movement in the southern colonies. The author states that he is not particularly concerned with the western aspect of the Quebec Act. Consequently, the volume before us really adds nothing to our information about the reasons which influenced the British ministry to include in the northern province the hinterland extending down to the Ohio River. The conclusions already reached by Alvord in *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* and by Coffin in *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution* are accepted in the main.

Professor Coupland's principal object is to discover the extent to which the Quebec Act determined the allegiance of the English and French inhabitants of Canada in 1775 and during the years that followed. He says, in fact, that his purpose is to explain why Canada remained loyal to Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution. The first three chapters of the volume trace the genesis of the act and describe in considerable detail the struggle between the "old" and the "new" subjects of Britain in Canada over questions of government, law, and religion in the province. The conclusion reached is that the British government showed statesmanship of a high order in arriving at the solution embodied in the act. While imperfect and at best transitional in character, it represented a sincere effort to conciliate and render justice to the recently conquered French inhabitants, a policy which bore fruit in 1775, when the southern colonies endeavored with success to shake their allegiance. As regards the motives which influenced the leading British subjects to remain loyal, one cannot help won-

dering what effect their connection with the fur trade may have had. The conquest of Canada by the Americans would certainly have been disastrous to their trading interests.

The volume is a work of real distinction, both as to method and content. It contains much that will be of interest to the average student of American history and certain things that may even be regarded as indispensable. Incidentally, it reflects an increasing interest on the part of English scholars in the subject of American history.

W. E. S.

Village Laws and Government in Minnesota (University of Minnesota Bureau for Research in Government, *Publications*, no. 6). By HARVEY WALKER, staff member, League of Minnesota Municipalities. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1927. iv, 175 p. Map.)

There are in Minnesota 633 villages, or, in other words, as many municipal corporations operating under a form of local government prescribed by legislative statutes and labeled villages as distinct from cities, boroughs, or towns. Some of these village communities, when measured by population statistics, are small in size; there is, for instance, Turtle River in Beltrami County with only seventy-four inhabitants in 1920. Others are large, for example Hibbing with a population of 15,089. Sixty-five in number are operating under special charters; the remainder are governed by the general village laws of 1885 or 1905. Not until this volume on village laws and government was prepared by Mr. Walker has there been available any single account or description of all the laws and their application to the individual village. That the publication of this excellent book will be of unusual benefit to village officials in particular and to all students of municipal government in general goes without saying.

The author presents to the reader in his first chapter the story of the official settlements and incorporations of the early towns and places in Minnesota up to the year 1865, when the last town was established. He has pictured these in a map and described in summary the contents of each of the special acts of incorpora-

tion passed by the legislature. The second chapter introduces not only the first official village, Mankato, incorporated as such on March 2, 1865, but also additional villages and boroughs organized under special acts from the year 1865 to the year 1875, when there was passed a so-called "general" law, which is fully described. This law of 1875, while called "general," related only to villages thereafter organized by special act. It was not, therefore, strictly general in application. In one sense it merely gave evidence of a growing and insistent desire on the part of the legislature to avoid the bother and time consumed in passing a new and lengthy statute every time a village came into existence. But it did serve as the forerunner of the first attempt in 1883 to secure a real general law, if we may ignore the territorial law of 1851 because of its non-use. The 1883 law, however, was negated by the supreme court in 1884 on grounds that it constituted a delegation of legislative powers to district courts. Thus the attempted legislation of 1883 was only one step in the social process that cleared the way for the first established and continuing general law, that of 1885, which today actually comprises the charters for 353 communities.

Chapter 3 describes in detail the 1885 law. The fourth chapter considers the general law of 1905 under which 212 villages are now operating and under which all new villages must be incorporated. The remaining chapters give pertinent information regarding laws applying in any way to all villages and indicate the procedures whereby an unorganized community may incorporate as a village, or how a village operating under special act or under the general law of 1885 may reincorporate under the 1905 law. Lastly, to complete the story, the reader is informed how a village may become a city operating under a home rule charter.

Not of least value in the volume are the tables and descriptive material found in the appendix, giving (1) a list of all incorporated towns in Minnesota with the dates of incorporation and their present status; (2) a complete picture of the legal status, location by county, and population of every village, with reference to the statutes under which each is operating; (3) a reprint of the general law of 1885 as amended to date; and (4) a summary of all general laws applying to villages.

The careful and thorough investigation of Mr. Walker has brought forth one outstanding contribution in the form of a partial discovery. Strange as it may seem, prior to Mr. Walker's disclosure it has been a common yet erroneous belief among many municipal officials that the 1905 general law repealed and entirely superseded the 1885 law and that all villages operating under the 1885 law were automatically brought under the 1905 law. So widespread was this conception that it may in part account for the absence of the law in the *General Statutes* of 1923. While the 1905 law does specifically repeal the 1885 law, Mr. Walker emphasizes the fact that the 1905 law applies only to those villages which shall either voluntarily by resolution reincorporate under its provisions or become organized subsequent to its effective date. This implies, in the absence of the passage of a resolution expressly signifying a change in status, that the villages incorporated under the 1885 law shall continue thereunder. Unfortunately many of the 353 villages which are now legally governed by this act have actually been conducting their official affairs under the 1905 law. Mr. Walker has now made definite the status of each village and clarified the existing confusion. Let us hope that this enlightenment will not cause too many practical difficulties in the unraveling process.

MORRIS B. LAMBIE

Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota. By THOMAS HUGHES.
(Mankato, Free Press Company, 1927. 132 p. Illustrations.)

Scattered bits of material about the Sioux and Winnebago chiefs and headmen of the Minnesota bands are to be found in many places, but it is only by gathering all this information together, comparing, sifting, and testing it with known historical facts and finally setting down the results, that satisfactory biographical sketches can be compiled.

Mr. Thomas Hughes, the indefatigable historian of the Minnesota River country, has performed this useful service in the book under review for some twenty-five Sioux and eight Winnebago chiefs and leaders of the Mississippi and Minnesota River groups. He has supplemented the written material with oral statements obtained from some of the prominent pioneers and missionaries

who knew the subjects of the sketches, and has brought to light some new material. Further, the passage of years has wiped out much of the bitterness that formerly existed against many of these Indians as a result of the outbreak of 1862 and has made possible a fairer estimate of their careers. Little Crow, for example, who was once pictured as the man responsible for the horrors of the massacre, is now shown to have faced his angry warriors with a bitter rebuke upon the madness of their course while agreeing to do his duty to the death as their war leader. To him was due the escape of a considerable number of persons from the Lower Agency, and only participation in actual battles could be charged against his account. One might, however, question the categorical statement on page 34 that Little Crow "was the only one who made an effort to punish Inkpadutah, and if the military at Ft. Ridgely had given him proper aid, he would have wiped out that cutthroat gang of out-laws." Certainly Agent Flandrau, Captain Bee, Governor Medary, and others did their level best to capture and punish the outlaw band, but only infantry and artillery were available, and little could be accomplished without the aid of cavalry to pursue the Indians. If there was mismanagement, it was on the part of the commissioner of Indian affairs, who, from the vantage point of an office chair a thousand miles away, undertook to handle the capture of a small band of Sioux Indians in their home country.

A large number of the pictures in the book are reproductions of original pencil sketches made by Frank B. Mayer in 1851, which are now preserved in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago; and Mr. A. Anderson of Mankato, who has drawn most of the other illustrations, has been very skillful in harmonizing the style of his sketches with that of Mayer's. Attractive as the result is, one might well question whether it would not have been better to reproduce photographs of some of the important characters, such as Sibley, Joseph R. Brown, and Dr. John P. Williamson, instead of sketches of them. The book is interesting reading, and it affords a good deal of useful information about the Indian chiefs and leaders of pioneer days in Minnesota.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

Prehistoric Man in Iowa. By CHARLES R. KEYES. (*The Palimpsest*, vol. 8, no. 6, June, 1927. p. 185-229.)

This number of *The Palimpsest* is devoted to five brief but valuable articles by Professor Charles R. Keyes, director of the Iowa Archeological Survey, upon the significance of archeological work, its problems and methods, and some of the results being obtained in that state.

The opening article discusses the problem "Who and Whence" as applied to the race of Indians, and reasserts the identity of the so-called "mound builders" with the ancestors of the present Indians. Mr. Keyes adopts the theory of Asiatic origin for the Indians, a theory which has much to support it but which is not as yet definitely established. His second article, "Tribes, Stocks, and Cultures" gives some useful definitions of terms used by anthropologists, and discusses briefly the importance of language in the determination of the relationship of the various tribes.

The last three articles, "In Quest of Facts," "Ancient Sites," and "Prehistoric Cultures," deal more particularly with the archeology of Iowa, and present considerable new material. Especially interesting is the revelation of the part which caverns and rock shelters played in the culture of a certain relatively small section of east central Iowa.

Mr. Keyes attempts merely to give an inkling of the possibilities in Iowa archeology with a view to arousing the people of the state to a realization of the desirability of a more exhaustive study of prehistory. His enthusiasm and his faculty for discussing archeology in popular terms make the series of articles very interesting reading.

W. M. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

From the society's lantern slide collection, which now numbers more than five hundred items, lists of available slides are being prepared to accompany lectures on various aspects of Minnesota history, and a distributing system is being planned whereby such lectures may be made available to the people of the state. The society desires to make its collection a comprehensive one and would be glad to receive gifts of slides dealing with the history, geography, ethnology, and the industries of Minnesota.

The series of four illustrated public lectures given by the members of the staff at the Historical Building during the spring was repeated at the University of Minnesota for the students of the summer session in June and July.

Fifty-one additions to the active membership of the society have been made during the quarter ending June 30, 1927. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

BELTRAMI: Charles W. Stanton of Bemidji.

BROWN: Nicolaus Henningsen of New Ulm.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. Arnold L. Guesmer of Excelsior; Caldus-
arius Bard of Hopkins; William H. Bovey, Harold C. Core,
Albert H. Crosby, James M. Dain, Charles F. Deaver, William
S. Dwinnell, Welles Eastman, James W. Falconer, Henry C.
Flannery, Rebecca George, Raymond A. Jackson, Anna M. S.
Klint, William H. Levings, Frederick W. Lyman, Silas McClure.
Minnesota Neill, Alfred F. Pillsbury, Mrs. Selma P. Spiess, Wil-
liam H. Sudduth, Henri Verbruggen, Charles R. Williams, and
William O. Winston, Jr., all of Minneapolis.

KANDIYOHI: Peter B. Hong and Henry G. Young of Willmar.

LAC QUI PARLE: Halvor L. Sorknes and Charles F. Thiele of
Madison.

RAMSEY: Moncrief M. Cochran, Mrs. James D. Denegre,
Minerva L. Dickey, George H. Hess, Jr., Engebret H. Hobe,
Alice Hosmer, Martin L. Jacobson, Charles E. Keller, August
J. Lindvall, Harry L. Mundy, Paul N. Myers, George H. Prince,
Mrs. Mary S. Schmidt, John P. Upham, Paul C. Weed, and
Charles Weinhausen, all of St. Paul.

RENVILLE: Frank Hopkins of Fairfax, and Mrs. Vesta C. Armstrong of Olivia.

ROSEAU: Eddy E. Billberg of Roseau.

WINONA: Paul P. Thompson of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Captain James P. Murphy of Washington, D. C.

The New Ulm Turnverein has been enrolled as an institutional member of the society.

The society lost seven active members by death during the three months ending June 30: Dr. James K. Hosmer of Minneapolis, May 11; the Reverend Theodore C. Hudson of Paynesville, May 23; Henry E. Huntington of San Gabriel, California, May 23; Charles D. Johnson of Brainerd, May 2; George E. Perley of Moorhead, May 17; Charles W. Stanton of Bemidji, June 2; and Edward B. Young of St. Paul, May 25. The deaths of Mrs. Albert W. Hastings of Minneapolis on August 8, 1926, and George W. Allyn of Madison Lake, on January 14, 1927, have not previously been reported in this magazine.

The original colors of the society's oil painting of Lieutenant Pike, the explorer, were to a considerable extent obscured at some time in the past by slowly accumulated dirt, and as a result the portrait has been dim and unsatisfactory. Recently the canvas was carefully cleaned and the painting now stands out so fresh and clear that it is almost as if a new portrait of Pike had been discovered. A similar treatment has been given the portrait of Louis Hennepin presented to the society some years ago by the late Mrs. James J. Hill.

"The Chippewa Indians of Minnesota" was the subject of a talk by Dr. Buck given before a dining club at the University of Minnesota on April 12. Dr. Blegen gave the Cap and Gown Day address at Hamline University on April 6 on "Time Binding and the New Age," and spoke on the study of state and local history the next day at a meeting in Red Wing of the Goodhue County Historical Society. Other recent talks by him were on "Paul Bunyan" to the Civitan Club of St. Paul, on "Ole Rynning: Trail Blazer" to the Men's Club of Bethlehem Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, on "Interpreting Minnesota" before the Newport Women's Club, and on the study of Minnesota population and

settlement to a history class at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Nute participated in the program of a meeting of the Excelsior Colony of New England Women in June by reading her essay on pioneer women printed in the present number of the magazine.

An unusually large number of readers — most of them students — drew upon material in the society's manuscript collection during the quarter ending June 30. In all there were 124, as compared with 55 in the corresponding quarter of 1926.

At the last meeting of the executive council, on April 11, the curator of the museum, Mr. Babcock, spoke on "The Place of the Museum of History in the Modern World."

Miss Elizabeth Ewing has resigned her position as reference assistant in the society's library after two years of service and is to be married. Another resignation is that of Miss Constance Humphrey, who has been assistant cataloguer for two years. She will attend the library school of Columbia University during the coming year. Her place has been filled by the appointment of Miss Leone Ingram, a graduate of Carleton College, who will take up her duties on October 1.

FUR-TRADE RECORDS

Though historians have recognized for some time the importance of the fur trade in the development of Minnesota, no thorough study of that industry has ever been made. A lack of information about details has been responsible, in part at least, for this failure to deal with such an interesting phase of local history. Only a few fur-traders' books have been preserved for the Minnesota region, notably those of Henry H. Sibley, Martin McLeod, and Alexis Bailly. Though these are extremely valuable and have been used in certain instances to good advantage by historians, they are too few and particularistic to supply the necessary material for broad generalizations about the fur trade. They do not enable the student to see the fur-trade régime in the large.

As soon as the papers of the American Fur Company were discovered in the library of the New York Historical Society, it was realized that this situation could be remedied to a considerable extent by obtaining copies of pertinent documents in that collec-

tion. The collection as a whole, which was appraised in a recent article in the *American Historical Review* by Dr. Grace Lee Nute (see *ante*, p. 198), contains not only the correspondence of the chief fur-trading company in the Northwest, but also its account books. During the past few years the society has been securing photostatic copies of selected letters in this rich collection. Until recently, however, no attempt has been made to copy the statistical data that are to be found in the ledgers and other volumes of the company's archives. Within the last few months several hundred sheets in the volumes marked "Furs and Skins," "Receiving Books," "Shipments," and "Accounts Sales and Accounts Current" have been photostated for the society. These show for the outfits and departments about the head of Lake Superior and along the upper Mississippi the numbers of packs sent to New York warehouses, the numbers and kinds of furs and skins in each pack, the outfits from which they were received, the manner of selling them, the names of the purchasers, the prices received, and similar details. Thus a vast amount of data on the trade during the days when the American Fur Company was a power in Minnesota and the Northwest has been made available to students who cannot use the original documents in New York. In addition to this statistical material the society has also secured photostatic copies of all letters in the collection for 1836 and 1837 that it considers important for the Minnesota region. Letters for earlier years have previously been selected and copied in this way and similar selections will be made for the succeeding years.

NEW SIBLEY PAPERS

Photostatic copies of a dozen or more Henry Hastings Sibley letters and papers, the originals of which are in the Solomon Sibley Papers in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, have recently been added to the rich treasures of Sibley manuscript material that the society possesses.

These new Sibley papers contain many interesting details about the experiences from 1838 to 1841 of the famous fur-trader who later became the first governor of the state of Minnesota. The letters were written to his family and in them are revealed his solicitude for his mother's health, his frank unburdening of his

heart to his parents, his evident concern about sisters, cousins, and other relatives, and his fresh interest in his work and environment. St. Peter's in 1839 was not too far from Detroit for a fond mother to ship a box of tidbits, for in one letter of that year Sibley writes thus to his father, "I wish you would tell Mamma that I am luxuriating still on her cakes and pickles."

Sibley was destined to spend the rest of his life in Minnesota, but the fact was not yet clear to him in 1839, when he wrote, "I think it probable now that I shall leave this country next year, if I can arrange my affairs satisfactorily, and sell out my investments without much sacrifice, although was I to consult pecuniary interests alone, I should remain as the country is gradually becoming settled, and my standing among business men, would afford me ample means of establishing myself permanently and with fine prospects, even though I should no longer remain connected with the American Fur Company."

Matters great and small jostle each other in these chatty letters home. Thus in one, in which Sibley comments on the excitement over the Maine boundary question, a postscript adds, "You will doubtless smile at the juxtaposition of two paragraphs which refer to the settlement of a great national question, and the welfare of my dog."

Another letter, dated November 5, 1839, tells of a journey on which Sibley conducted a party of Sioux to Red Cedar River, a tributary of the Des Moines close to the territory of the Foxes and Sacs, mortal enemies of his companions. After leaving the Sioux on their hunting grounds and going to Prairie du Chien Sibley wrote:

Intelligence has just been received that the Foxes have attacked a Winnebago camp immediately in the vicinity of the Red Cedar, and which I passed on way hither, and have destroyed 14 and taken two prisoners. This occurred nine days since and the very day after I passed the Winnebago encampment. I must have been seen with my two men by the Foxes, as their route towards the Winnebagoes must have conducted them within a short distance of my camp. I was happily not molested if such was the case. I say happily for a war party of savages are no respecters of persons. I am now waiting with much anxiety to learn whether the Sioux have escaped being attacked, especially as I left them with one of my clerks and two other whites or rather half breeds who in case

of an attack at night (as is the Indian custom) would be in as much peril as the Sioux themselves. . . . So much for my Red Cedar adventure. I was with the Indians about a month. We lived well upon deer, Elk, &c. and in the hunting I performed my part having killed two large Elk, deer &c.

ACCESSIONS

Of outstanding importance is the acquisition by the society of copies of the diaries kept by Alexander Ramsey, the first governor of Minnesota Territory, covering the period from 1849 to 1854. The originals are owned by Governor Ramsey's daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul, a member of the society's executive council, who has kindly made the copies and presented them to the society. The diaries begin just prior to Ramsey's journey to Minnesota in 1849, and include interesting details about the trip. The arrival of the governor in the new territory, his meetings with leading citizens, the political situation, the problem of Indian treaty making — these are among the subjects upon which his impressions are recorded. The governor and his wife were the leaders of the social life of the capital, and there are numerous entries that tell of dinners, balls, visits to the Falls of St. Anthony, and other characteristic features of that life. The diaries supplement the comprehensive collection of Ramsey's correspondence already in the possession of the society. Students of Minnesota history will be grateful to Mrs. Furness for thus making available for study a source of great importance. As she has opportunity she will copy the rest of her father's diaries for the society.

An important recent accession is a photostatic copy of the diary kept by the famous scientific explorer and geographer, David Thompson, on his travels from the Mouse River to the Red River of the North, Red Lake, Sandy Lake, and Lake Superior in 1798. Though this log, as Thompson called it, is largely statistical, it includes a number of general remarks about the country through which the explorer passed. The original Thompson diaries are preserved in the Department of Public Records and Archives in Toronto.

Interesting documents in the war department files at Washington relating to Pike's expedition to the upper Mississippi country

in 1805 are disclosed in installments of the calendars of north-western material in the national archives received recently through the Conference of Historical Agencies in the Upper Mississippi Valley. These are mainly letters about conferences and agreements with the Sioux and Chippewa Indians for the purpose of fortifying the region against British traders, especially at the mouth of the St. Croix River and at the Falls of St. Anthony. A card for a letter from General James Wilkinson, found in the same file of papers, reveals the fact that in 1805 he recommended that a fort be established at the mouth of the St. Louis River. Other material covered includes correspondence in the archives of the railroads division of the General Land Office containing many letters relating to the administration of the land grants for railroads in Minnesota.

Photostatic copies of five small volumes containing diary entries, maps, and astronomical observations from the collection of Joseph N. Nicollet Papers in the Library of Congress have been acquired (see *ante*, 4:282). These volumes pertain to Nicollet's explorations of the upper Mississippi region from 1836 to 1838. For the study of Indian and French place names in Minnesota, of sites of trading posts and mission stations, and of geographical knowledge of the region in the late thirties they are of exceptional value.

A few papers of the noted trader, Dr. Charles W. Borup, including a fur-trading agreement, commissions, warrants, and naturalization papers, have been presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. James D. Denegre of St. Paul. The trade agreement, dated at Washington, D. C., on March 16, 1853, was between Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company and Borup, Henry H. Sibley, and F. B. Sibley. One part of it provides for the termination of the interest of Henry H. Sibley in the trade in case he should be appointed governor of Minnesota Territory.

Mrs. Denegre has also presented an interesting diary kept by John Neeley Simpson on a journey in Virginia in February, 1799. The diarist went from Baltimore to Culpeper Court House and Charlottesville, then over the Blue Ridge, and to a farm near Fincastle. On the return he passed through

Greensville on the road from Lexington to Winchester. "I could not refrain smiling," he writes, "at seeing on a tavern keepers sign with something a little in the figure of a man of a very grotesque form very knock kneed, his feet turned directly out and his arms akimbo with President Adams underneath to let people know who he was." The diary contains many informing observations on social and economic conditions in the region traversed.

A number of commissions and certificates issued to Alexander Wilkin, secretary of Minnesota Territory from 1851 to 1853 and a noted officer in the Civil War, have been presented with some other papers by Mr. A. M. Coleman of Goshen, New York.

In rummaging through a family home in Cooperstown, New York, Dr. James Ferguson of St. Paul recently discovered more than seventy-five letters written by members of the Cory family from St. Paul, Wabasha, and Fort Totten, Dakota Territory, in the period from 1854 to 1878. These letters have been added by Dr. Ferguson to the other family papers that he presented some two years ago (see *ante*, 6:72). This collection as a whole now affords scores of interesting bits of description, gossip, and narrative from which can be constructed a vivid and interesting mosaic of home life on the Minnesota frontier. Especially interesting is one letter telling how Thanksgiving was celebrated in St. Paul in 1856.

The society has acquired abstracts of the Minnesota entries in the copyright division of the Library of Congress for the period from 1859 to 1870. Books, maps, pictures, and miscellaneous items are listed.

The society's collection of the papers of Joel B. Bassett, the Indian agent for the Minnesota Chippewa from 1865 to 1869, has been much enlarged by the gift of a number of vouchers, reports, and miscellaneous papers from his son, Mr. William L. Bassett of Los Angeles (see *ante*, 6:73).

The diary kept by Mrs. Thaddeus P. Grout while on a covered wagon journey from central Wisconsin to Luverne, Minnesota, from May 15 to June 18, 1873, has recently been copied by the society through the kindness of Mrs. Grout. The entries tell of

camping sites, scenery, the execrable roads, sod huts, new towns, and various other matters.

A file of the Nininger City "boosting" newspaper, the *Emigrant Aid Journal of Minnesota*, has been presented by Mr. Malcolm M. Willey of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. The first number was issued on December 1, 1856, and though the name of Nininger City appears under the heading, the issue was actually printed in Philadelphia. The editors were Ignatius Donnelly and Philip Rohr. The first two pages are printed in English and the last two in German. Special attention is given to the prospects of Nininger City and to the Minnesota Emigrant Aid Association. The emigrant was strongly urged to come to Minnesota. "In Illinois he will be met by the Illinois Central Railroad and the fever and the ague," runs one article. In Iowa he will be greeted "by land speculators who infest the State like a famine. In Minnesota alone he will find an excellent soil, a fine climate, a healthy temperature and a *pre-emption law*." The second number, which was not issued until June 20, 1857, carried the name of A. W. MacDonald as editor. Among other items this issue contains a fanciful sketch of a visit to America in the year 4796 A. D. The imaginary traveler finds that the population of New York City in that year was 4,892,568. That of Nininger was 4,981,947. More to the point is a prophetic mention of a crossing of the Atlantic in thirty-six hours "by means of a new invention." This file of the *Emigrant Aid Journal* — the only one known to be in existence — ends with the issue for May 5, 1858, number 32 of volume 1.

A recent accession of source material on the Sioux War involves a somewhat interesting story of manuscript hunting. After the outbreak in the summer of 1862 a military commission convened at Camp Release for the trial of the Indians and half-breeds charged with outrages against the white settlers. Nearly four hundred cases were tried, with witnesses for both the accused and the prosecution. Careful records were made of each case including the charges, the evidence, the prisoner's plea, and the verdict. Later all these records were sent to Washington, where they were used by President Lincoln when he was reviewing the sentences imposed by the commission. From that period until 1909 no trace

of them could be found. Then Dr. William W. Folwell, already embarked upon his researches in Minnesota history, instituted a search, and with the aid of Senator Knute Nelson he found them in the archives of the United States Senate. After Dr. Folwell had made use of them they were again apparently lost until last year. Then Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the Washington agent for the Conference of Historical Agencies in the Upper Mississippi Valley, located them in a special file of the Senate archives. The society has now had photostatic copies made of the entire body of records, which are of great importance for the history of the outbreak and for the biographies of four hundred Sioux Indians and half-breeds. The material fills almost fourteen hundred pages.

A bound volume of the *Louis Riel Rebel Trials* of 1885, printed in the *Canadian Sessional Papers* of 1886, has been presented by Mr. W. J. Wright of Minneapolis. This copy was originally given by J. A. Chapleau, Canadian secretary of state in 1885, to Hugh Richardson, the judge who tried the treason case of the leader of the second Red River rebellion. The society has also acquired a copy of the French version, entitled *La Reine vs. Louis Riel* (Ottawa, 1886. 213 p.).

An important addition to the society's resources is the Edward A. Bromley Collection of photographs, recently received from the Bromley estate. It includes several thousand negatives and pictures, most of them of Minnesota pioneers and early scenes. Mr. Bromley set himself the interesting task of preserving a pictorial record of the history of Minnesota and through a long period was an indefatigable collector. A part of the material that he accumulated has been acquired in the past by other institutions or by individuals, but the balance, now received by the society, represents the larger part of the original collection. In addition to the Minnesota pictures there are numerous views from Iowa, Wisconsin, Montana, the Dakotas, and other western states.

Photographic copies of oil paintings of Major Lawrence Taliaferro and his wife, from the period of the famous Indian agent's tenure of office in Minnesota, have been added to the picture collection through the courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Fred Pesch of St. Louis. All other known pictures of Taliaferro are from the

Civil War period. Photographs of oil paintings of the explorer and fur-trader, Alexander Henry, the elder, and his wife have likewise been acquired through the courtesy of the heirs of the Kittson family of St. Paul. Other recent accessions of pictures include twenty-six photographs taken on the Columbia River Historical Expedition, given by Mr. Oscar Erickson of St. Paul; a small photograph of the birthplace of the late Senator Knute Nelson, given by Mr. Martin Odland of Robbinsdale; and an original woodcut of the execution of thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato, given by Mr. George J. Grabowenski of St. Paul.

Interesting recent additions to the domestic life collection include candle moulds and dipping rods, a wooden bed wrench, a small wooden spigot, a heavy tin bread pan, and a long-handled iron shovel of the type used for an old-time fireplace, received from Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul; and a small skin trunk bearing the initials "E. G.," once the property of the Reverend Ezekiel Gear, the pioneer chaplain at Fort Snelling, received from Mr. Charles M. Remey of Washington, D. C.

Recent additions to the costume collection include a black cashmere shawl, heavily embroidered, presented by Miss Belle McPhail of St. Paul; and a black Chantilly lace shawl, an embroidered neckerchief, and some articles of children's clothing, received from the estate of the late Mrs. Ellen G. Bisbee of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. G. S. Wilson of that city.

A good specimen of an Indian stone ax has been presented by Mr. William Rath of North St. Paul. The ax was plowed up in North St. Paul in May.

A set of five tools used in making wooden shoes in Germany about a hundred years ago has been received from Mr. Henry Kuhlmann of Norwood, through the courtesy of Mr. D. H. Kuhlmann of St. Paul.

A tin strong box used by the pioneer St. Paul firm of Borup and Champlin and a wooden chest used by the banking house of Borup and Oakes have been presented by Mrs. James D. Denegre of St. Paul.

Mrs. Denegre has also presented a dress sword, a military sash, some dress epaulettes, shoulder knots, belts, and buttons, and a Colt's revolver that belonged to her father, Colonel J. H. Simpson, who was in charge of government road construction in Minnesota from 1851 to 1856.

A pike pole and a peavey recently received from Mr. John Reilly of Stillwater, through the courtesy of a lumberjack, Mr. Roy Hennings of Minneapolis, together with a pair of spiked shoes given by Mr. Hennings previously, form the nucleus of what it is hoped will become an extensive collection of objects illustrating the history of lumbering in Minnesota.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Dr. John W. Oliver in the space of three printed pages in *History* for April attempts to place before English readers the status of "The Study of Local History in the United States of America."

A *Handbook of Historical and Patriotic Societies in New York State, Including List of Local Historians* has been issued by the division of archives and history of the New York state department of education (Albany, 1926. 63 p.).

A valuable compendium entitled *Indian Tribes and Missions: A Handbook of General History of the North American Indians; Early Missionary Efforts and Missions of the Episcopal Church* has been brought out by the Church Missions Publishing Company (Hartford, Connecticut, 1926). One section of the volume deals with "Missions to the Indians of the Middle West" and contains considerable information about Minnesota missions. Among the many illustrations accompanying this section are views of "Heathen Indians in Old Days in Minnesota"; the church, mission schoolhouse, and mission house of St. Columba in 1857; and the Reverend J. Lloyd Breck with two Indians, J. Johnson Enmegahbowh and Isaac Manitowab, a group picture made from a daguerreotype.

In an article on "Indian Use of the Silver Gorget" by Arthur Woodward in *Indian Notes* for October, 1926, a letter by Lawrence Taliaferro dated March 3, 1832, is published, in which the Minnesota Indian agent asks the secretary of war, Lewis Cass, to send him "two large medals, six 2d and 10 3d sizes do., also thirty six Gordgets and ten common flags."

"Musical Composition among the American Indians" is discussed by Frances Densmore in the June issue of *American Speech*.

A pamphlet on the *Fishing Industry of the Great Lakes* by Walter Koelz, which has been issued by the bureau of fisheries of

the department of commerce (Washington, 1926), contains brief sketches of the history of the fishing industry on Lake Superior and on Lake Michigan.

Under the title "Unsung Geographer Predicted Mississippi's Greatness in 1798," the story of David Thompson's explorations and surveys in the Northwest is retold by Arthur Hawkes in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 22. Although Thompson's Minnesota explorations are given greatest prominence in this account, considerable space is devoted to a description of his notebooks and maps and to his operations in the Far West. The author gives the following summary of the feats of this trading surveyor: "He set forth in scientific detail, checked by innumerable astronomical observations, the main natural lines of travel in a million and a quarter square miles of territory in Canada and half a million in the United States. He discovered a new route from Fort Churchill on Hudson's Bay to Lake Athabasca. He discovered and used Howse and Athabasca Passes over the Rocky Mountains. Until this century he was the only man to traverse the whole length of the Columbia, long fabled as the Great River of the West. He was the first to make extensive astronomical observations around the headwaters of the Mississippi." A note preceding the article announces the unveiling of a monument to Thompson at Montreal on May 23, when speakers described him as the "greatest land geographer the world has produced." An excellent portrait of the explorer accompanies the article.

"On Steamship and Steamboat" is the title of the autobiography of William Cairncross, "deckhand, fireman, carpenter, second mate" in service on the upper Mississippi, which has been edited by Captain Fred A. Bill and has been appearing in installments in the *Lake City Graphic-Republican* since April 19.

A vivid and detailed account of Norwegian pioneering on the Dakota prairies in the vicinity of Yankton is published under the title *Some Pioneers and Pilgrims on the Prairies of Dakota, or from the Ox Team to the Acroplane*, edited by the Reverend John B. Reese assisted by H. B. Reese (Mitchell, South Dakota, 1920. 95 p.).

That an "All-Scandinavian Museum" be established on the campus of the University of Minnesota "to house mainly relics of Scandinavian pioneers in the northwest" was the substance of a plan advanced by speakers at the Danish-American National Festival at the Minnesota Fair Grounds in St. Paul on June 26.

A detailed history of "The Election of 1892 in Iowa" by Walter E. Nydegger appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July.

The issue of the *Fargo Forum* for January 18 is an elaborately illustrated "Souvenir Edition" of a hundred pages containing many articles of value for Red River Valley history. Transportation in the valley receives its share of attention. There are long accounts of the Red River cart trade, of the development of steam navigation on the stream, and of the growth of the railroads. Stories of the explorers and fur-traders who were prominent in the region are related by S. M. Wemmett; and the agricultural development of the district is the subject of a number of articles. Other cities and settlements in the valley — Moorhead, Pembina, Frog Point — are given due attention. Among the articles of more purely local interest are an account of the history of the *Forum*; a sketch of William G. Fargo, for whom the city was named; a description of the flood of 1897; and narratives about the development of the banks, theaters, schools, and churches of Fargo.

The first white settlement in Rolette County, North Dakota, which grew up around St. Claude Chapel established by Father J. M. Malo in 1882, is the subject of an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 19. According to this account a movement is at present under way to establish a state park on the site of the settlement.

An outline of early exploration in the Black Hills region of South Dakota and an account of the finding of gold there by a member of the Custer expedition in 1874 are combined in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 4.

The first installment of a study of the "Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in Montana" by the Reverend Edward P.

Curley appears in the March *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society. Occasional Minnesota connections are brought out, for example, the story of the appointment in the sixties of Father Ravoux of St. Paul to the vicariate-apostolic of Montana. From this appointment the venerable St. Paul priest was released because of failing health.

In a pageant enacted by students of the Eau Claire, Wisconsin, normal school on the site of Fort St. Antoine on May 8, the ceremony by which Perrot proclaimed the French king's sovereignty over the Northwest was depicted. The pageant was part of a program which included a number of historical addresses and the placing of a marker on Wisconsin State Highway Number 35 calling attention to the old fort site.

The minutes of a Hudson's Bay Company council of the northern department of Rupert's Land for 1825 are published as a document, edited by H. A. Innis, in the *Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1926. Traders on the Red River are listed with many details about their business.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A project to raise a monument costing three hundred thousand dollars on the spot where the Kensington rune stone was found in 1898 has recently been announced in the press. The plan is linked with a proposed park to be known as the "Runestone Park," and the mayor of Kensington has appointed a committee of fifteen to promote the movement. A "rune stone rally" was held near Kensington on June 1, with the famous stone on exhibition and Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand and Congressman O. J. Kvale among the speakers. Meanwhile doubts as to the authenticity of the inscription on the stone continue to be raised. Thus the *McIntosh Times* for June 16 prints a story told by a farmer, Mr. Erick Omeland, harking back to a conversation touching on runic matters alleged to have occurred in the Kensington region some fifteen years before the rune stone was discovered. The story appears to be similar to that discussed in some detail in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* (p. 240-245). The Norwegian-American newspaper *Reform* (Eau Claire, Wisconsin) in its issue for June 16 suggests that if any money is available it should be

used to promote further investigation of this entire runological and historical problem.

An article entitled "How Minnesota Became a State," by Solon J. Buck, appears in many of the "Greater Minnesota" editions issued by newspapers throughout the state late in May.

A bust of Governor Winfield S. Hammond was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies in the House Chamber of the Capitol on April 17.

Mr. John K. Daniels of Minneapolis has been chosen by the Knute Nelson memorial committee to model the statue of the late Minnesota senator that will be erected on the grounds of the State Capitol in St. Paul.

General James Shields is described as the "most romantic figure in Minnesota history" in an account of his colorful career contributed by Martin W. Odland to the *Minneapolis Tribune* of May 1. About half of the article is devoted to the events that preceded Shields's arrival in Minnesota—his early life in Ireland, his experiences in Illinois, his brilliant exploits in the Mexican War, and his services as a United States senator from Illinois. His town-site activities after settling at Faribault in 1855 are touched upon, and his efforts to draw Irish immigrants to his colony at Shieldsville are described before the story of his second election to the United States Senate by the Minnesota legislature as one of the state's first two senators is told. "It cannot be said that Shields' election . . . was because of any prominence he had attained during his brief residence in Rice county or on account of any services he may have given the new state," writes Mr. Odland. "It was principally because of the great prestige that he brought with him from Vera Cruz, from Cerro Gordo, from Chapultepec, from Illinois, from Washington. His fame was nation-wide, transcending by far that of any other citizen of Minnesota." Accounts of Shields's experiences in the Civil War and of his third election to the Senate, from Missouri, complete the story of this picturesque figure.

The fiftieth anniversary of Pillsbury Academy at Owatonna was the occasion for elaborate commencement exercises from June 1 to 6. Dr. James W. Ford, principal of the school from 1889 to

1904, delivered an address entitled "Personal Recollections of Honorable George A. Pillsbury," and Mr. Mark H. Dunnell spoke on the history of the academy. The latter address is published in the *Daily People's Press* of Owatonna for June 5. Pictures of the academy's first building, of the present campus, and of a number of early instructors also appear in this issue.

The mission established by the Reverend Jedediah D. Stevens on Wabasha Prairie in 1839 is the subject of a sketch in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for June 25. An account of the life of the missionary's adopted daughter, Mathilda Jane, is included.

The experiences of Mrs. Albert Hotaling of Mankato as a captive among the Indians after the Lake Shetek massacre are described in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for June 24. Portraits of Mrs. Hotaling and of her father, Thomas Ireland, another survivor of the Indian attack, appear with the article.

In a pamphlet entitled *The Heroine of Lake Shetek in Minnesota: A Western Historical Fragment Interwoven with Pennsylvania* (Altoona, Pennsylvania, 1923. 10 p.), John C. French presents the story of the experiences of Mrs. Alomina Hurd in the Sioux War of 1862. The narrative appears to follow almost word for word the account published in 1864 in Bryant and Murch's *History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians* (p. 367-375). This material is "interwoven with Pennsylvania" by the addition of some information about Mrs. Hurd's later life as the wife of E. G. Woodward at Roulette, Pennsylvania.

An historical romance centering about the last Indian uprising in the United States, the Leech Lake outbreak of October, 1898, has recently come from the pen of Mr. Eddy Billberg, under the title *In the Land of the Chippewa: A True Blue Story of the Last Indian Outbreak in America* (Minneapolis, 1927. 126 p.). As cowboy, timber cruiser, railroad construction official, and government scout in an Indian campaign, the hero typifies the changing life of the frontier, and his problems are those of many early settlers in northern Minnesota. The author knows this section well, and he presents a vivid picture of the Leech Lake, Cass Lake, and Red Lake regions in the late nineties. He breaks into his

narrative about half way through the book to insert as a chapter a reprint of Dr. Louis Roddis' article on "The Last Indian Uprising in the United States" (see *ante*, 3:273-290), and he allows this article to give the account of the actual fighting at Sugar Point. Several extracts from issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* bearing upon the general situation during the crucial days of late September and early October, 1898, also are given. Interesting pictures of the town of Bemidji about 1898, of the Chipewa chief for whom the town was named, and of scenes connected with the Leech Lake uprising illustrate the story.

How Anson Northup dragged a steamboat across the snow-covered Minnesota prairies in order to have it ready for navigation on the Red River in the spring of 1858 and win a bonus offered by the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce is related in a feature article in the magazine section of the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 29. The attempt to take the steamboat "Freighter" up the Minnesota and through Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse to the Red River also is described. Some unusually interesting illustrations which appear with the article show Fort Abercrombie in the sixties, the steamboat "International" on the Red River, and Fargo in pioneer days. In a letter to the editor of the *Journal*, published on June 12, Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul comments on the article and gives some of his own reminiscences of Red River steamboating.

The diary kept by Mrs. Lucy A. Ide in 1878 on an overland journey from Mondovi, Wisconsin, through Winona and southern Minnesota and west to Washington Territory is published under the title "In a Prairie Schooner, 1878" in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April. Mrs. Ide, who was one of a party of more than forty persons, thus records her impressions on May 3 after the stop at Winona: "While the train was passing through the city, the people thought it was a circus and we occupants of the wagon, the wild animals I guess, as we did not feel very tame, as it is cold and snowy. We camp on the fair grounds and make quite a display." She adds that some members of the party "showed the white feather" by going to a hotel for the night. The rest remained in their tents or in the wagons and weathered the storm. "Lucinda and I got the supper as well as we could,

with half-frozen fingers; then tumbled ourselves into the wagon and covered up and soon were warm."

Early American Inns and Taverns by Elise Lathrop (New York, 1926. 365 p.) in one chapter tells about "Some Middle Western Inns" and includes a brief passage about Minnesota that is based chiefly upon an early account of travel by Mrs. Elizabeth F. L. Ellet. "In St. Paul she found the Rice Hotel and stages, almost pioneer sight-seeing buses, ran three times daily between that city and St. Anthony, giving passengers views of the falls, several pretty lakes, and so forth. . . . She found three public houses in Stillwater, and two taverns at Taylor's Falls." The author makes special mention of the Sawyer House at Stillwater, built in 1856, and the Chicago House at Taylor's Falls, begun in 1851 and finished the next year.

A charming sketch of the life of Mrs. William Watts Folwell by E. B. Johnson is published in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for April 23.

Interesting views of "Minnesota Fifty Years Ago" have been appearing in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal*. The series began on May 1 with an early print of Litchfield, and among the other pictures published is one of "Sauk Rapids from across the Mississippi river in 1877" and another of Rapidan Mills on the Blue Earth River. These two appear in the issues of the *Journal* for May 15 and July 10. Some of the pictures are taken from Andreas' *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*, published in 1874.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The Roseau County Historical Society was organized in April at Roseau, and the following temporary officers were elected: Mr. E. E. Billberg, president; Mr. J. W. Durham, vice president; Mr. G. I. Brandt, secretary; and Mr. P. O. Fryklund, treasurer. It is announced that an associate secretary will be appointed for each township of the county, and that suitable headquarters will be established where historical objects and records can be preserved.

In the early part of the summer the press carried reports of the opening of a county museum at Fergus Falls under the auspices of

the Woman's Club of that city. Quarters for the museum were established in the county courthouse, and for some weeks the exhibits were open to the public on Saturday afternoons. Because of the lack of a permanent place for the museum, the exhibits have since been placed temporarily in storage. The launching of this museum led to a public meeting on July 31 at Amor Park on Otter Tail Lake, called to consider the problem of local history activity. At this meeting, which was attended by about three hundred people, including representatives of most of the sixty-two townships in the county, Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, introduced a general discussion of local historical work and organization, calling attention to the value of local history and to the recent development of the county historical society movement in Minnesota. After an informal discussion participated in by Dr. O. N. Nelson of Battle Lake, the Honorable M. J. Daly of Perham, the Honorable J. B. Hompe of Deer Creek, Mr. Anton Thompson and Mr. Bronson Strain of Fergus Falls, and others, the Otter Tail County Historical Society was organized. Dr. Nelson was elected president, Mr. Thompson, vice president, and Mrs. W. L. Patterson of Fergus Falls, who has actively promoted the project on behalf of the Woman's Club, secretary-treasurer. An extensive account of the meeting appears in the *Fergus Falls Tribune* for August 4.

A feature of the four-day celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Mankato, from June 19 to 22, was an elaborate historical pageant presented on the last two evenings of the festival. The colorful history of the locality provided excellent material for a pageant. Scenes depicting early Indian life in the vicinity; the coming of Le Sueur; the treaty of Traverse des Sioux; the founding of the city in 1852; the arrival of groups of German, Welsh, and Scandinavian immigrants; and events of the Civil, Sioux, and World wars were included. At a meeting of the Mankato Old Settlers' Association on June 21, Mr. W. H. Pay outlined the history of Mankato and Miss May Fletcher told the story of the growth of the city's schools. A tablet marking the site of the first school in Mankato was placed by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Another event connected with the anniversary celebration was a meeting of the Blue Earth County Historical Society.

The activities of the members of the family of James Hanna, a pioneer of Mankato, in the fields of education and religion in the frontier town of the fifties are described in an article in the *Mankato Free Press* for June 21.

The story of the Graceville flour mill, which has been operating for more than forty years, is outlined in the *Graceville Enterprise* for May 5.

Recent installments of the series of local history articles in the *Waconia Patriot* (see *ante*, p. 208) include accounts of the early history and pioneer schools of Camden Township, April 14 and 21; sketches of some of the pioneers of Helvetia, May 12; and a description of early trails around Waconia, June 23.

Some reminiscences of P. H. Arntzen of Leenthrop Township, Chippewa County, who came to Minnesota from Norway with his parents shortly after the Civil War, are published in the *Montevideo American* for April 29. Of special interest are Mr. Arntzen's boyhood impressions of the Norwegian attitude toward Lincoln.

A home-coming celebration held at Spring Grove from June 10 to 13 marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town.

At a celebration on July 3 and 4 of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Montgomery a monument commemorating the pioneers of the locality was dedicated.

The old Sioux Trail, as recalled by certain pioneers of the Minnesota Valley, is the subject of a sketch published in the *Montgomery Messenger* for April 15. It is one of a series of articles dealing with the history of the locality, which includes several on Kilkenny Township, Le Sueur County, published on April 22, 29, and May 6; and one on the town site of Lexington, printed on June 17.

A somewhat detailed account of the history of Acoma appeared in the *Hutchinson Leader* for October 29, 1926 (see *ante*, p. 111).

Two pioneer educators of Hutchinson, W. W. Pendergast and H. L. Merrill, were honored on June 10, when tablets commemo-

rating their services were unveiled in two local schools by former students. An account of the activities of these early teachers and a brief history of the Hutchinson schools are printed in the *Hutchinson Leader* for June 10.

A bronze tablet attached to a boulder was unveiled on May 22 on the site of old Fort Chanyaska in Martin County, one of the posts established for defense against the Indians during the Sioux War.

A "Description of Pioneer Days in Renville County," by M. S. Spicer, who emigrated from New York after the Civil War and settled on Beaver Creek, appears in the "Greater Minnesota Edition" of the *Renville Star Farmer* on May 26. The issue also contains a record of the development of the Renville schools.

More than a hundred people attended a dinner meeting of the Rice County Historical Society at Northfield on April 28. Reminiscences of pioneer days in Rice County were presented by Mrs. A. H. Pearson; Mr. Carl L. Weicht, editor of the *Northfield News*, outlined the history of the Northfield press; and Dr. Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society pointed out some of the possibilities of research in local history. The papers by Mrs. Pearson and Mr. Weicht are published in the *Northfield Independent* for May 5.

Some information about the history of Duluth Harbor is included in an article on the famous aerial bridge which spans the ship canal between Duluth and Minnesota Point, in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 1.

Articles on Scott County pioneer life by Win V. Working continue to appear in the *Belle Plaine Herald* (see *ante*, p. 210). An account of the experiences of Luke and Michael Skelly, who later settled in Tyrone Township, during the California gold rush of 1849 appeared on April 7; sketches of some of the pioneers of the Rice Lake district were printed on June 2; and San Francisco, an abandoned village on the Minnesota River, was described on June 16.

The fierce conflict between the Chippewa and the Sioux at Shakopee in 1858, as recalled by Jim Other Day, a Sioux survivor

of the battle, who still lives near Shakopee, is described in articles in the *St. Paul Dispatch* and the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 26.

Benson thirty years ago is compared with the present city in a series of photographs with descriptive sketches published in the "Greater Minnesota Edition" of the *Swift County Monitor* of Benson for June 24.

A history of Janesville is among the special articles published in the "Greater Minnesota Edition" of the *Janesville Argus* on May 26. Another interesting article outlines the history of the *Argus* and lists the newspapers published in Waseca County from 1860 to 1887.

An eight-day home-coming celebration at Stillwater opened with Pioneers' Day on June 27 and closed on July 4. Picturesque logging days were recalled in a talk by Judge Edward Doe on the evening of June 27.

The First Congregational Church of Monticello celebrated its seventy-first anniversary on May 1.

The attempt to establish a city known as Minnesota Falls on the Minnesota River near Granite Falls in the early seventies is the subject of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 20. The account is based upon the recollections of Mr. J. L. Putnam, who visited Minnesota Falls when it was known as the "head of navigation on the Minnesota." A portrait of Mr. Putnam and an interesting view of Granite Falls in 1874 appear with the article.

The annual meeting of the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association was held at the Godfrey House in Minneapolis on June 1. Reminiscences of a number of pioneers who attended the meeting, including Mrs. Florence E. Lawrence and Mr. Barclay Cooper, are printed in a report of the gathering in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 2.

The story of "A Girl in Old St. Anthony, 1848-1927," as told by Mrs. Harriet Mousso to Miss Florence Lehmann, is published in two installments in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 17 and 24. Mrs. Mousso's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Alex Cloutier, were French-Canadians who settled in St. Anthony in 1846.

The Twin Towns at the Falls of St. Anthony by Ruth Thompson (Minneapolis, 1926. 36 p.) contains a number of charming sketches originally published in the Minneapolis Public Library's *Community Bookshelf*. The author first tells of Hennepin and Carver and a few later explorers whose travels brought them to the Falls of St. Anthony. "The Town of St. Anthony" is next discussed and special attention is given to the social life of the village. John H. Stevens' *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People* supplies material for a vivid chapter entitled "'All Saints,' the Settlement on the West Side of the River and How it Grew into the City of Minneapolis." In a section on early means of transportation the story of Captain John Tapper, ferryman, is told. Miss Thompson then sketches the beginnings of industrial development at the Falls of St. Anthony, tells of Fredrika Bremer's visit in 1850, discusses the "Youthful Pleasures of St. Anthony and Miss Minneapolis" and the beginnings of the city's park system, and finally describes "Old School Days in St. Anthony and Minneapolis."

An outline of the story of the old West Hotel of Minneapolis, which was opened in 1884, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for June 5.

The seventieth anniversary of Plymouth Congregational Church of Minneapolis was celebrated on April 28 with an elaborate program representing the seven decades in the history of the congregation.

Members of Mount Zion Hebrew Congregation of St. Paul celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the founding of their church on April 8 and 9. A special "Anniversary Program," issued in connection with the celebration, includes a chronological history of the congregation and pictures of the temples which it has occupied since 1871.



